

Patterns in Mission Preaching:
The Representation of the Christian Message and Efik Response
in the Scottish Calabar Mission, Nigeria, 1846-1900

William Harrison Daniel

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University of Edinburgh

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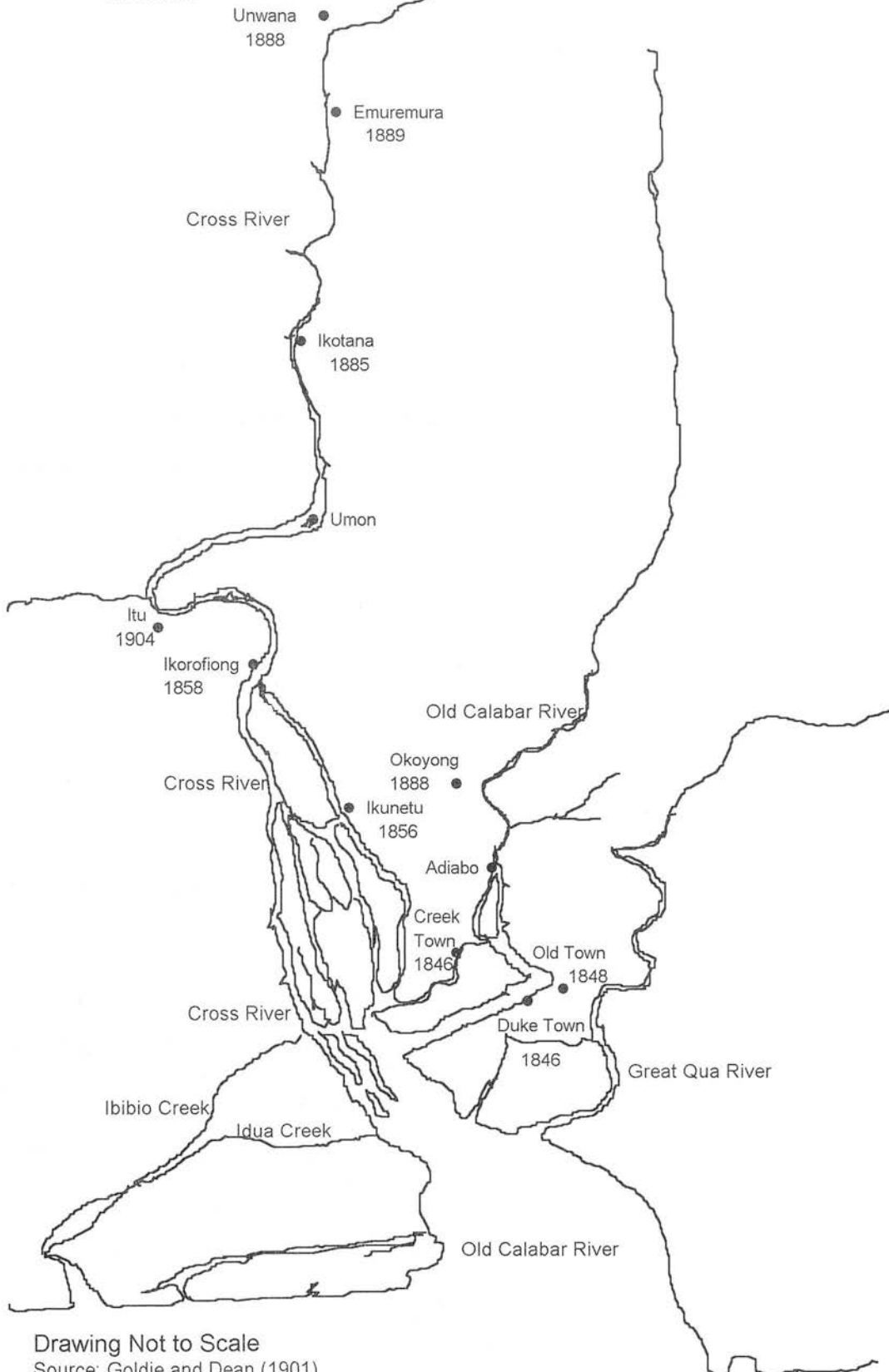


Map of the Cross River Basin

(Presently Southeastern Nigeria)



Principal Mission Stations of
The United Presbyterian Church
of Scotland are marked, with
the date Europeans first occupied
the station.



Drawing Not to Scale

Source: Goldie and Dean (1901)

Abstract

The principal objective of this thesis is to examine the interaction during the period 1846-1900, between the Christian preaching of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the local response of the Efik people in the Cross River basin of present day South-Eastern Nigeria. The historical development of mission preaching in Calabar, as well as its theological background is established. The interpretation of the mission's proclamation by the Efik people in terms of their local religion and culture is treated. The history of Christian proclamation and local response in the region is thus explored through the following categories of cultural interaction: the representation, rejection, reception, and reformulation of the mission message.

The work is an attempt to get beyond crude stereotypes in academic literature of mission preaching as merely a destroyer of indigenous culture. The thesis contends that mission preaching and local response were more diverse than previous scholarly work suggests, and that the sources for this study demonstrate how the Efik people were active agents in the transmission of Christianity within the region, rather than passive recipients. It argues that the nature of the mission's evangelism cannot be properly understood without a proper recognition of the local religious and cultural categories used by the Efik people to reject, receive, reformulate, and "re-present" the biblical message in the region. Conversely, we maintain that in order properly to assess the contribution of the Efik people in the interpretation and

transmission of emerging Efik Christianity, it is necessary to establish the form, the content, and the extent of mission preaching.

In order to test these hypotheses, this work documents the actual patterns of preaching and response "on the ground" through attention to primary sources. The thesis is divided into three sections. The first section, offers a historical treatment of the origins and expansion of the United Presbyterian Mission in Calabar, and how its message was represented. In the second section, the development of United Presbyterian preaching is analysed from a historical and theological perspective. The third section undertakes a historical exploration of Efik response to the mission message, as interpreted through features of local religion and culture.

A conclusion is offered in which a number of findings are summarised. The diversity of mission preaching at Calabar is maintained. Sources depict a more complex relationship between preaching for conversion and social change than has been generally thought. The role of ex-patriate missionary preaching in both evangelism and social change was scaled down considerably as the century progressed, particularly after the introduction of the vernacular translation of the Bible and in light of the increasing colonial presence. This prompted Efik Christians to take more initiative in the interpretation and expansion of a distinctively indigenous Christianity throughout the Cross River area.

Declaration

As required by the regulations of the University of Edinburgh,
I formally declare that this thesis has been composed by myself
and the work it embodies is entirely my own.

Signed:

Acknowledgments

I would like to dedicate this research to the Christians of the Cross River Region. May it serve their purposes as they are faithful in completing a good work once begun in them. I also dedicate this thesis to my family, my wife Barbara Daniel, my parents Mr. and Mrs. W.P. Daniel, Jr., and Mr. and Mrs. William S. Armistead. Without their patience, prayers and financial support, I could neither have begun nor completed this work. I am also sincerely grateful to the following people, without whom the completion of this thesis would have been both ill-advised and impossible: Professor Andrew F. Walls for supervision and timely guidance in every area of this thesis; Dr. Murray Simpson and the helpful staff at New College Library, Edinburgh, for bringing out many treasures from deep within their storehouse; Dr. Danny Colquhoun of the Silicon Centre, Edinburgh, for technical assistance in retrieving chapters erased from my computer files; Mr. and Mrs. Philip Goertzen for hospitality, maps, graphs, and printing support; Mrs. Anne Fearnon and Miss Margaret Acton of the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, for administrative information, consolation, and of course, afternoon tea therapy.

Abbreviation Key

NAS	The New American Standard Bible
NEB	The New English Bible
MS	manuscript
MS CAL	Calabar manuscript (New College Library, Edinburgh)
MSS	manuscripts
MSS. GEN	general manuscripts (Edinburgh University Library)
N.D.	no date
S.M.R.	The Scottish Missionary and Philosophical Register
U.P.C.	The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland
U.P.C.M.R.	Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church
U.P.S.	Proceedings of the United Presbyterian Synod
U.F.C.	The United Free Church of Scotland
U.F.C.M.R.	Missionary Record of the United Free Church

Unless otherwise noted, references to biblical texts used by missionaries are taken from the Authorized Version. All citations of the biblical text extracted in quotations from mission documents are also from the Authorized Version.

**Patterns in Mission Preaching:
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Table of Contents

Abbreviation Key.....	v.
<u>Introduction</u>	1
 Section I. The Expansion of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland's Mission and Message in the Cross River Basin	
 <u>Chapter 1</u>	
1.0 The Origins and Development of the Calabar Mission, 1846-1858: Evangelistic Expansion and Social Reform	
1.1 Introduction.....	28
1.2 Origins in Jamaica.....	29
1.3 Early Preaching Patterns of the Pioneers in Jamaica.....	37
1.3.1 Hope Waddell, 1829-1846.....	37
1.3.2 William Anderson, 1839-1849.....	43
1.3.3 Hugh Goldie, 1840-1847.....	47
1.4 The Expansion of the Church and Presentation of the Gospel in Calabar from 1846-1858.....	50
1.4.1 First Contact: Waddell's Early Explorations in Preaching.....	50
1.4.2 Preaching for Social Change within the Context of Spiritual Conversion.....	63
1.4.3 The Campaign Against Human Sacrifice.....	70
1.4.4 Preaching on Polygamy from 1846-1858.....	85
1.4.5 Preaching on Other Elements of Social Change, 1846-1858.....	91
1.4.5.1 The <i>Esere</i> Bean Trial.....	92
1.4.5.2 The <i>Ndok</i> Celebration.....	97
1.4.5.3 Twin Killing.....	99
1.5 Conclusions.....	102

Chapter 2

2.0	The Expansion of the Calabar Mission, 1858-1900: The Representation of the Gospel and Local Response to Teaching on Conversion and Social Change	
2.1	Introduction.....	108
2.2	The Representation of the Gospel, 1858-1880.....	109
2.2.1	Consolidation and Obstacles as the Historical Background to Expansion from 1858-1880.....	109
2.2.2	Calls for Social Change and Conversion from 1858-1880.....	112
2.2.2.1	Anderson on Social Change: 1859.....	112
2.2.2.2	Goldie's Preaching on Reform and Christ at Ikunetu: 1858.....	119
2.2.2.3	Anderson Confronts Substitutionary Killing: 1860.....	122
2.2.2.4	Shifts in Preaching to the Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ: From 1860.....	126
2.2.2.4.1	Zerub Baillie at Ikorofiong.....	127
2.2.2.4.2	Alexander Robb: Lessons Learned in Preaching.....	131
2.2.2.4.3	Changes in Preaching After Publication of the Old Testament in 1868.....	133
2.3	Representation of the Gospel, 1880-1900.....	134
2.3.1	The Expansion and Penetration of the Gospel Amid a Changing Political Context in Calabar, 1880-1900.....	134
2.3.2	Up-River Preaching and the Penetration of the Gospel, 1880-1900.....	142
2.3.2.1	William Peebles around Duke Town.....	142
2.3.2.2	E. W. Jarrett in Ikot Ana.....	146
2.3.2.3	J. F. Gartshore in Unwana.....	147
2.3.2.4	James Luke at Akunakuna.....	152
2.3.2.5	Miscellaneous Young Up-River Preachers.....	158

2.3.2.6	Up-river Preaching in Contrast with Duke and Creek Town.....	161
2.4	The Status of the United Presbyterian Mission and Its Evangelistic Enterprise around the Turn of the Twentieth-Century.....	165
2.5	Conclusions.....	169

Section II. Historical and Theological Perspectives on the Development of United Presbyterian Mission Preaching in the Cross River Region

Chapter 3

3.0	The Scottish Ecclesiastical and Theological Background to the Preaching of the Calabar Mission	
3.1	Introduction.....	172
3.2	Preaching in the Secession and Relief Churches: Influences on the United Presbyterian Mission to Calabar.....	172
3.3	Preaching and Theology in the United Secession and the United Presbyterian Divinity Halls.....	178
3.3.1	The United Secession Divinity Hall, 1820-1834.....	179
3.3.2	The United Secession Hall from 1834-1847 and the United Presbyterian Divinity Hall from 1848 to the early 1870s.....	184
3.4	Nineteenth Century Theological, Confessional, and Preaching Developments within the United Secession and United Presbyterian Churches.....	186
3.4.1	The Secession Church, 1820-1847.....	186
3.4.2	Developments in Preaching and Theology in the United Presbyterian Church, 1847-1900.....	196

Chapter 4

4.0	The Characteristics and Historical Development of Theological Content in the Proclamation of the Calabar Mission, 1846-1900	
4.1	Introduction.....	202
4.2	The Development of Proclamation Content in Creek Town.....	203

4.2.1	Hope Waddell, 1846-1858.....	203
4.2.1.1	Sources.....	203
4.2.1.2	First Preaching Themes: Early 1846.....	204
4.2.1.3	Opposing Customs and Preaching on the Responsibilities of Rulers, 1846-1850.....	205
4.2.1.4	Waddell's Furlough and Goldie's Substitution at Creek Town, May 1848- August 1849.....	207
4.2.1.5	Waddell's Teaching on Christ, August 1849-1850.....	208
4.2.1.6	Transitions in Waddell's Preaching: On Commerce, Chastisement, Conversion, and Old Testament History, 1851-1852.....	212
4.2.1.7	Hugh Goldie's Preaching During Waddell's Second Furlough, 1852-1853.....	221
4.2.1.8	Waddell Returns: Teaching on Christian Living to New Converts, 1854.....	225
4.2.1.9	Waddell's Preaching about Restoring Fallen Converts, 1855-1858.....	228
4.2.1.10	Profile of Waddell's Use of Scripture in Preaching.....	230
4.2.2	Hugh Goldie, 1858-1895.....	235
4.2.2.1	Goldie's Method of Expository Preaching.....	235
4.2.2.2	Goldie's Selection of Themes in Creek Town, 1858-1862.....	238
4.2.2.3	Preaching After the Publication of the Efik New Testament, 1863-1867.....	239
4.2.2.4	Samuel Edgerly's Preaching During Goldie's Furlough, 1867-1869.....	243
4.2.2.5	"The Second Stage" at Creek Town: Goldie's Preaching after 1870.....	246
4.2.2.6	Edgerly's Preaching Supplements the Break in Goldie's Documentation: Late 1870s.....	247
4.2.2.7	Goldie's Preaching from 1880-1895.....	248
4.2.2.8	Goldie's Use of Scripture in Teaching.....	250

4.2.3	Goldie's Creek Town Successors and Developments in Preaching.....	252
4.3	The Representation of the Gospel as it Developed in Duke Town.....	256
4.3.1	William Anderson, 1849-1889.....	256
4.3.1.1	Descriptions of Anderson's First Preaching Initiatives, 1849.....	256
4.3.1.2	The Campaign Against Slave Killing and Other Obstacles to Preaching in Duke Town, 1850-1851.....	258
4.3.1.3	Anderson's Preaching Upon Return From Furlough, 1852.....	262
4.3.1.4	Anderson's Preaching on Conviction of Sin, Death and Judgment, 1853-1862.....	263
4.3.1.5	Preaching on Christian Living to the New Duke Town Converts After Publication of the Efik New Testament, 1863-1867.....	268
4.3.1.6	Anderson Shifts to Serial Exposition of Books of the Bible, 1868-1880.....	271
4.3.1.7	Renewed Emphasis on Conversion, and the Conclusion to Anderson's Preaching Ministry, 1880-1895.....	273
4.3.1.8	A Profile of Anderson's Use of Scripture in Preaching.....	275
4.3.2	Anderson's Duke Town Associates and Successors: Peebles and Wilkie.....	277
4.4	Comparisons and Conclusions.....	280

Section III. A Historical Examination of Efik Response to the Mission Preaching of the United Presbyterian Church

Chapter 5

5.0	Receptance, Resistance, and Reformulation: Efik Response to Waddell's Preaching at Creek Town, 1846-1858	
5.1	Introduction.....	288
5.2	Early Consideration and Reception of Select Aspects of Waddell's Teaching in Creek Town, 1846-1849.....	289

5.2.1	Reactions to Waddell's Teaching on the Ten Commandments, 1846.....	289
5.2.2	Early Responses and Interpretations Concerning Waddell's Preaching on Jesus Christ, 1846.....	301
5.2.3	Preaching on Christ as Power over <i>Ifot</i> , and Local Response to the Christian Concept of Satan, 1846.....	306
5.2.4	Reactions to Waddell's Conversation on Life After Death, 1846.....	313
5.2.5	Eyo Responds to an Old Testament History Lesson, Waddell's Teaching on Abraham, 1846.....	317
5.2.6	Creek Town Views upon the Death of William Jameson, 1847.....	318
5.2.7	Outstanding Questions Preventing Conversion: Efik Interpretations of Christian Identity and Service, 1847.....	323
5.3	Reception and Reformulation of Christian Teaching Among Local Patterns of Efik Religious Belief, 1847-1848.....	325
5.3.1	Waddell Preaches Again Upon a Previously Resisted Theme: Resurrection, 1847.....	325
5.3.2	Waddell Attempts to Counter "Erroneous Views of the People", 1847.....	331
5.3.3	Efik Interpretation of the Kingdom of God, and the Calabar Kingship Model, 1848.....	333
5.4	From Selective Receptance to Selective Resistance, 1849-1851.....	335
5.4.1	Waddell's Appeals to Convert are Resisted, While Calls for Social Change are Received, 1849.....	335
5.4.2	Young Eyo Interprets and Selectively Receives Aspects of Waddell's Teaching Before "Conversion", 1850.....	338
5.4.3	King Eyo Discovers More Incompatibility Between Christian Preaching and Local Religious Practice, 1850.....	343
5.4.4	Efik Resistance to Waddell's Preaching with No Equivalent Categories in Local Religious Belief Patterns, 1850.....	345

5.4.5	The Identification of King Eyo with the Christian Programme, and the Resistance of Slaves to Christian Preaching, 1850.....	349
5.4.6	Preaching on the Parables, and Literal Interpretations as Obstacles to Understanding, 1850.....	351
5.4.7	The Reformulation of Elements in Waddell's Preaching Perceived as Incompatible with Local Religion, 1850.....	352
5.4.8	Perceived Incompatibility Between Efik Local Religion and Waddell's Christian Teaching, from late 1850.....	357
5.5	The Phase of Greatest Resistance to Christian Preaching Concludes: 1851.....	359
5.5.1	Reconciliation of Waddell's Preaching on "The Future Great Judgment".....	359
5.5.2	Response in the Run-up to the First Baptisms in 1853: More Perceived Compatibility with Aspects of Christian Teaching.....	360
5.5.3	Remaining Obstacles to Conversion: Lack of Equivalent Concepts in Christian and Efik Religious Categories, 1852.....	364
5.6	First Baptisms, and Patterns of Response to Waddell's Preaching from 1853.....	367
5.7	Conclusions.....	369

Chapter 6

6.0	Resistance, Receptance, and Reformulation: Efik Response to the Proclamation of Hugh Goldie in Creek Town, 1848-1853; William Anderson at Duke Town, 1849-1895; and in the Wider Cross River Basin, 1878-1890.	
6.1	Introduction.....	374
6.2	Efik Resistance, Receptance, and Reformulation of Hugh Goldie's Preaching at Creek Town.....	374
6.2.1	Early Responses to Hugh Goldie's Preaching, 1848-1849.....	374
6.2.1.1	Sources and Goldie's Preaching on the Ten Commandments.....	374
6.2.1.2	Reflections on Goldie's Preaching and	

the Resurgence of Efik Religious Categories at Creek Town.....	380
6.2.1.3 Conflict and Dialogue: Christian and Efik Religious Concepts of Sin, Suffering, and Satan.....	383
6.2.1.4 Selection and Reformulation of Elements in Goldie's Teaching, and King Eyo's Preservation of Efik Religion against Secularism.....	387
6.2.1.5 Criticism and Disappointment for King Eyo's Response to Christian Teaching.....	390
6.2.2 Later Creek Town Interpretations of Goldie's Teaching.....	393
6.2.2.1 Confirmations of Efik Patterns of Belief and Aspiration in Goldie's Teaching, 1849.....	393
6.2.2.2 Remaining Conflict Between Goldie's Christian Preaching and Efik Patterns of Belief, 1849.....	396
6.2.2.3 Conclusions on the Response to Goldie's Creek Town Preaching, 1848-1849, 1852-1853.....	399
6.3 The Interpretation of William Anderson's Preaching in Duke Town, 1849-1885.....	400
6.3.1 Duke Town Responses Before 1860: The Christian Message is Discredited.....	400
6.3.1.1 Reactions to Anderson's Preaching on the Moral Failing of Humanity Before God.....	400
6.3.1.2 A Positive Response to Anderson's Illustration of Christ as Friend.....	405
6.3.1.3 Response to Anderson's Further Preaching on Death and Judgment.....	407
6.3.2 Duke Town Reactions to Anderson's Preaching After 1860.....	409
6.3.2.1 Shifts in Resistance: Duke Town Gentlemen Find Anderson's Preaching a Confirmation of Local Religion.....	409
6.3.2.2 The Reformulation of Anderson's Preaching by Duke Town Leaders Prior to their Conversion: Towards Appreciation of the Christian Message.....	411

6.4	Christian Response in the Wider Regions of the Cross River Basin.....	415
6.4.1	Alexander Ross among the Ekoi.....	415
6.4.2	Samuel Edgerly, Jr., and Prince Eyamba Address Objections to Christian Teaching in Umon.....	416
6.4.3	Mary Slessor and the Magic Lantern in Abakpa.....	418
6.4.4	James Luke and the People of Mbrukem in Dialogue.....	421
6.5	Conclusions.....	426
	<u>Summary Conclusions</u>	431
Appendix I.	Calabar Mission Total Communicant Membership, 1853-1905.....	444
Appendix II.	Calabar Mission Communicant Statistics by stations.....	445
II.A.	Calabar Mission Local Communicant Membership, Creek Town, Duke Town, Ikorofiong, 1853-1872.....	445
II.B.	Total Membership at Creek and Duke Towns, 1853-1905.....	446
II.C.	Membership at Ikorofiong, 1863-1905.....	447
II.D.	Membership at Ikot Ana, 1885-1909.....	448
Appendix III.	Frequency of Biblical Books Preached and Taught.....	449
Appendix IV.	William Anderson's "Short Summary of Christian Doctrine".....	452
Appendix V.	Efik Letters.....	457
Appendix VI.	Excerpts from Efik Bible and Books, 1851.....	465
VI.A.	The Plan of Passages from the Efik Bible....	465
VI.B.	Lessons on the History of Joseph, Item Ke Mbu Joseph.....	466
Bibliography	468

Introduction

Rationale

The figure of the missionary as a cultural imperialist, whose militant, aggressive preaching undermined local religion is firmly established in the mythology of the West in the late twentieth-century.¹ Moreover, the perception of missionary preaching as sinister propaganda reinforcing the Western colonial project still holds sway in the academic study of religion and missions. Much of the academic critique of the missionary movement hinges on the promotion of this line of thought. Furthermore, the very ideals mission societies hold concerning the nature and role of the missionary has often been formulated as a counter to a historical perception: that mission preaching in the nineteenth-century was an instrument promoting the oppression, rather than the liberation of various people groups in their contact with the Christian West. In order to affirm the proper role for the missionary in the present, it is indeed necessary to explore the historical motives and strategy of the mission movement. For the issue of the complicity of missions in destroying local culture and promoting colonialism remains important. Yet in order to answer such crucial questions about the missionary movement in the past, which already occupy much scholarly effort, we need to establish our historical views of how missionaries actually represented the Christian message in the field--on the grounds of good documentary evidence.²

Has mission historiography sufficiently explored the nature of mission proclamation itself, and the way particular

¹ Sanneh (1987:333).

² Sanneh (1987); see also Sanneh (1990:302-305).

representations of the Christian message were interpreted in the field? Can we confirm existing perceptions about nineteenth-century missionary preaching with representative evidence? Or have unverified stereotypes been allowed to creep into the academic discussions on the interaction between Christianity and local religious traditions? Do these stereotypes need to be challenged by more research? This study arose out of a suspicion that many scholars of mission and Christian history, particularly of Africa, have simply settled upon overdrawn stereotypes of nineteenth-century mission proclamation, and proceeded to examine questions more politically expedient. A likely reason for the acceptance of stereotypical views of mission preaching, is the present discouragement facing scholars in the discipline of missiology engaging in detailed research on preaching in the mission field. Such a study is likely to be dismissed, as it is thought to unduly place the focus of the historical research on Western rather than African agents. Such a prevailing current in mission historiography rightly restores African agents as subjects in their own Christian history. But this does not excuse the neglect of such a central topic in mission history; it merely explains the curious paucity of studies on mission preaching over much of the African continent.

A few exceptions can be found, in which a scholarly work includes some treatment of topics related to mission preaching. Yet these studies serve only to remind us that the study of mission proclamation and local response is needed--but models are difficult to find. One study which does attempt to treat how mission teaching was assimilated into local religious world-view,

is Gabriel Setiloane's *The Image of God among the Sotho-Tswana*.¹ Setiloane treats the influence of London Missionary Society teaching on the Sotho-Tswana after 1816 in the context of "the dynamic interchange" of that community's living relationships.² The study also recognizes the resistance of the Sotho-Tswana to the teaching and way of life of the missionaries. Yet the overall purpose and bulk of the Setiloane's research is to delineate ancient Sotho-Tswana customs, assess their significance, and ask why they have stubbornly survived in the face of Western Christianity. The limitation of the study as a model remains: Setiloane assumes the failure of missionary communication when he poses the question of how far Christianity has succeeded in conquering Sotho-Tswana religion. And we do not hear very much of the preaching itself, so it is difficult to assess on a representative basis how far Setiloane's thesis goes to explain the Sotho-Tswana resistance and response to L.M.S. preaching.

Apart from such studies as Setiloane's however, not enough attention has been paid to the detailed documentation of the role of local religious world-view in the reception and reformulation of the Christian message; for this requires more than cursory documentation of mission proclamation. Ironically, without verifiable evidence of what message the mission proclamation presented, we cannot accurately gauge the contribution of local agents in receiving, reformulating, and representing Christian teaching to their society in terms resonant with their local religious heritage. In other words, we must

¹ Setiloane (1975).

² Ibid., 139.

determine the limits of ex-patriate preaching to properly define and appreciate the full extent of local initiative in the transmission of Christian teaching across culture. The value of a study on mission preaching and interpretation is evident then, not simply for Western commentators and constituencies. Rather, such a study would be of potential benefit for the African religious communities which have descended from those first respondents--and whose Christian theology derives in some part from those earliest interpretations of the Christian message. One senior African church leader and scholar, Kwesi Dickson, has called for precisely such a study when he claims: "Much... African interpretation of mission preaching has not been properly evaluated...Hence a potentially interesting and valuable aspect of Church History...and Christian theology has...been unexplored."¹ Much more historiography of this kind remains to be done, whereby the transmission of Christian teaching is appreciated and evaluated in terms of this local response.

An example of a piece of research which promises to provide this kind of historiography, is J.H. Boer's *Missionary Messengers of Liberation in a Colonial Context*.² However, it too, promises more than it can deliver as a model. The purpose of the study is to treat the relationship of the Sudan United Mission to the British Colonial endeavour in Northern Nigeria. It is not primarily a historical work, but attempts to offer a missiological study focusing on the present situation of evangelical mission in

¹ Dickson (1984:92-93, 95).

² Boer (1979).

the region, and the churches created. As a result, there is insufficient historical attention given to the biblical sources of teaching which gave rise to those churches. Considering Boer's goal to "search for renewed Biblical guidance for the future", it is most curious that the biblical guidance given in the past was not established. Again, this signals a lack of interest in establishing what was the content and structure of mission preaching, and a willingness to let stereotypes continue to hold sway. In any event, little attention is given to the interaction between the representation of Christian teaching and local response. This is indeed surprising, in a study that would seem to demand such treatment in order to better formulate the role of the missionary in the present and the future.

The lack of established studies on what the reality of mission preaching consisted of, and how it developed in the nineteenth-century, is abundantly clear. This lack only functions to obscure our historical perception of the missionary. Consequently, if we wish to understand the present and future task of mission, we simply must discover what nineteenth-century missionaries preached. Again, the need for a study dedicated to mission preaching and local response in a particular context looms large. This thesis on *Patterns in Mission Preaching: The Representation of the Christian Message and Efik Response in the Scottish Calabar Mission, Nigeria, 1846-1900* attempts to be an effort in such a direction.

But why Calabar? As we shall see later in this introduction, the sources we have depicting preaching and response in Calabar are both available and accurate. Apart from this however, the

Calabar context commends itself for a number of other reasons. It is an important example of mission proclamation in a pre-colonial context, where part of the initiative for the mission laid clearly with an invitation offered by the Efik chiefs themselves. Moreover, the mission initiative was reinforced by the desire of freed black slaves in Jamaica to participate. To be sure, the "global" assessment of the Christian expansion in Nigeria has been handled by Ajayi's¹ and Ayandele's² contributions. But their concentration on the Yoruba field, and Anglican sources, leaves a gap in serious studies of British pre-colonial mission operations, not to mention the initiative of other denominations such as the Presbyterians, and the indigenous response of smaller ethnic groups such as the Efik.³ The study of the causes, characteristics, and effects of mission preaching at Calabar offers much promise towards addressing that lacuna. Furthermore, the efforts of the United Presbyterian Church in Calabar represented a unique nineteenth-century initiative, where an early (but unfortunately not fully exercised) commitment to evangelising Africa with natives was held, and where literacy and pidgin English flourished prior to the mission's arrival. As such, Calabar provides a superior context for the study of the penetration and reformulation of the Gospel message within a particular culture, through the contributions of active Western and African agents alike.

Aims and Assumptions

¹ Ajayi (1965).

² Ayandele (1966).

³ Taylor (1980:19).

The thesis seeks primarily to contribute to missiological studies by simply establishing the nature of intercultural Christian preaching, and how it developed in a particular nineteenth-century African context. We have sought to dialogue with the reality of the concrete historical situation-- by examining the documentation of mission preaching and its response in the Calabar setting. Our aim, then, is to look beyond the stereotypes, and to depict those realities in a faithful fashion. In this way, the work emphasizes uncovering from the sources the diversity of intercultural Christian proclamation, rather than assuming that preaching consisted of an *a priori* uniformity.¹ In the broadest sense, it seeks to explore the interaction and transmission of Christianity with local religion, on the historical level.

The dissertation does not ostensibly place the Western Church and missionaries as the primary active agents, with the African local religious tradition and its adherents capitulating to this mission message in a passive role. Rather, this work begins with the assumption that the evangelism of the mission, as important as it is to understand in its own terms, cannot be regarded as the sole dynamic component of the mission outreach; the process of the mission's evangelism cannot be properly

¹ For this reason, we have opted for using the phrase "representing the Gospel", rather than "preaching the Gospel". This is for the purpose of avoiding the implication that there is a uniform and static entity called "the Gospel" that Westerners can identify as universal, and which simply needs to be transposed to every cultural context. Instead, we wish this particular linguistic construction to draw attention to our view that there are various interpretations of the meaning of the Christian message presented by missionaries, based on their various identifications of the Christian teaching with elements within the Western cultural tradition.

understood without reference to the contribution of local Efik religious world-views used by various individuals in the reception, rejection, and the reformulation of mission proclamation. The thesis then attempts not only to analyse sermons and reported teachings of Scottish missionaries in Calabar with a view to discerning their theology. But likewise, this work is undertaken as a comparative analysis of continuities and discontinuities in Scottish and Calabar world-views. The role of such continuities and discontinuities can then be assessed and related to the causes, characteristics, and effects of mission proclamation at Calabar. In other words, the nature of Scottish and Efik religious thought, their social patterns, as well as local historical antecedents will be appreciated for their contribution to the conversion process.

We have also thought it important to dialogue with the existing historical research on mission preaching and local religious response in the Cross River area. But why should it be necessary to contribute further to the significant body of research on the Scottish Calabar Mission, especially through examining mission preaching and response? There have been book length studies as well as a plethora of articles on the various aspects of this mission, such as church and state relations,¹ history,² the religious background,³ the educational

¹ Okon (1973); Ayandele (1966); Nair (1977); Ajayi (1965); Mbon (1987).

² Waddell (1863); Goldie and Dean (1901); McFarlan (1946, 2nd ed.); Aye (1987); Forde (1956); Johnston (1988).

³ Hackett (1987, 1989); Latham (1972); Jeffreys (1966b); Noah (1978).

enterprise,¹ as well as cultural² and social development.³ To isolate mission preaching outside of any of these complementary contexts would be to misunderstand the nature of mission itself, if not mission preaching. However, some of these studies concerning the Scottish Calabar mission in particular have been guilty of the equally fallacious converse: isolating these important components of mission from the consideration of what the missionaries actually preached and taught of the Christian message. Moreover, some of these studies have for political or academic reasons focused so heavily on their own particular methodologies, that they have not done justice to the rich diversity of mission preaching at Calabar. In so doing, they sometimes appear to have simply assumed stereotypes of mission preaching as a seditious force arrayed against Efik culture and religion, without sufficient representative historical evidence. Let us examine the literature which touches on the issue of proclamation in the Calabar context, and note the limitations of this material for the purposes of our thesis, as well as how our research relates to their findings.

Limitations to the Literature on the Scottish Calabar Mission

The latest books on the Calabar mission and primal religion, Johnston's *Of God and Maxim Guns*⁴, and Hackett's *Religion in Calabar*⁵ do mention the themes of mission proclamation. Yet

¹ Taylor (1980, 1983); Shepard (1980); Anene (1966:51).

² Simmons (1956, 1959); Morrill (1963); Henderson (1966); Jones (1965).

³ Nair (1972, 1977); Jones (1956); Nwaka (1978).

⁴ Johnston (1988).

⁵ Hackett (1989).

these books treat the theme mostly in passing, and perhaps in view of our purpose to examine the documented representation and the response to Christianity on the basis of local religion, the treatments are not altogether satisfactory.¹ These latest works contribute to our knowledge of historical and religious development in the Cross River area, but nonetheless, they do not comprehensively explore how the Christian message was historically represented. Thus, these works provide few clues about what cultural elements within the Scottish tradition and Efik local religion prompted reception, rejection, and reformulation of the mission message.

Although such questions are not central to Hackett's work on developing religious pluralism, they could perhaps yield answers to the origins, orientation, and development of the emerging Calabar church, as well as the later transformations of independent churches, so abundant in Calabar. Indeed, our work may help to provide preliminary material for later research on connections between the pioneer missionary message and later patterns of Efik Christianity and religious pluralism, about which Hackett writes so cogently.²

The theme of mission proclamation is treated in Johnston's attempt to argue that Calabar mission history is the history of a prophetic preaching tradition interacting with the responses of various peoples in the region.³ However, Johnston's work does not go far enough towards addressing what part the content and

¹ Johnston (1988:6-7, 59-60, 273-302, 303-307); Hackett (1989: 61-74).

² In addition to Hackett (1989), see also Hackett (1985, 1987).

³ Johnston (1988:6-7, 303-307).

structure of local Efik religious tradition played in that response. Neither does he explore in depth from the primary sources how the content and structure of the "prophetic" preaching tradition addressed the local religion over time.

Johnston nevertheless makes a significant contribution towards an objective history of the development of the mission, particularly in the relation of its component parts (expansion, government and colonialism, training of native evangelists, medical work, etc.) to the mission message. Such a treatment of these various contexts in relation to one another was lacking in the earlier, more subjective, and certainly more partisan histories.

Johnston's thesis that the prophetic tradition was a constant in the life of the mission--is too rigid an explanation; just as his view that the British conquest was the decisive event for the Cross river area accepting the mission message is improbable by itself--especially without a detailed treatment of the transmission of that teaching. Johnston's volume is nonetheless the most thorough assessment to date of the role of mission preaching in conjunction with the other components of mission.

Earlier works such as Taylor's *Calabar: An Educational Experiment*¹ and Shepherd's *The Origins and Development of Literacy in English in Old Calabar to c.1860*² take up the

¹ Taylor (1980:ii, 13-14, 23, 42-44, 80, 82-89, 94, 96, 98, 100-104, 109, 121-122, 125-126, 160-165, 172-176, 178, 181, 183-184, 186, 199-201, 205-206, 219, 229, 231-235, 256, 271, 273-274, 294, 347).

² Shepherd (1980:vii-viii, 275-278, 307-316).

matter of mission ideology, but only obliquely in the context of how that affected the Calabar educational work. While both attempt to relate the mission enterprise to various events and economic forces in the region, the two works again manifest a tendency to treat the educational work as if it stood in isolation from evangelism.

Other works falling into the category of ethnographic, historical, political, or economic, all have their uses in building up a profile of Efik world-view, as well as describing the historical situation in which the mission operated. Such studies are obviously limited in explicit references to how the Gospel was transmitted and received in Calabar. These works by Okon¹, Nair², Simmons³, Latham⁴, Forde, et al.⁵, are certainly valuable and impeccably documented contributions in their various perspectives on Calabar history. But again, they do not comprehensively treat how the Scottish mission represented its message on the ground. An exception to this among the socio-political writers is K. K. Nair's exploration of the the relationship of Waddell and King Eyo Honesty II, from 1846-1858.⁶ Nair argues that Eyo's response to evangelism was to steer a median course between absolute rejection of the preaching, and the total acceptance of the teaching. Acceptance occurred only in areas that were unlikely to revolutionize the community, and could improve his prestige among the chiefs in the area due

¹ Okon (1973).

² Nair (1972).

³ Simmons (1955, 1956, 1959).

⁴ Latham (1973).

⁵ Forde (ed.)(1956).

⁶ Nair (1977).

to enhanced relations with the mission.¹ This analysis is a helpful reminder of the often political motives behind response to Christian proclamation. Yet Nair does violence to the evidence we have on mission preaching, by arguing that before 1851, missionaries preached primarily on cosmological concerns, and against religious custom; and that after 1851, in the wake of frustration with King Eyo, the mission shifted their preaching strategy to focus upon social reform. This argument simply does not do justice to the diversity and subtlety of the documentary evidence we possess on mission preaching in Calabar. Our work seeks to re-evaluate Nair's contentions based on the preaching diversity in the historical record.

Our research also contributes to the critical debate about mission preaching, found in the writings of a number of scholars on African religion, who maintain that mission preaching was a militant destroyer of local religion in Calabar and Southeastern Nigeria. S. O. Okafor boldly asserts that the battle for "soul and soil" in Nigeria was sustained through a policy of intensified and intolerant missionary "propaganda"; it was used to replace "the existing culture with western culture, and the traditional religion with Western christianities."² E. E. Okon writes that missionary preaching "lambasted" local culture through religious arguments, and local chiefs regarded such preaching as inciting treason in the Calabar area.³ While Okafor's and Okon's description of the responses and results of much Christian preaching in Southeastern Nigeria may be broadly

¹ Ibid., 243.

² Okafor (1981:31).

³ Okon (1988:52-53).

accurate, they assume the same mistake as many "Western" commentators: they fail to recognize in their work the power of resilient local religion in the Christian reception process. The failure to appreciate that in Africa, Christian teaching spread among familiar religious channels and received in the feedback a strong dose of local religious material, has contributed to much misunderstanding of how preaching has been received in cross-cultural and religious contexts.¹ Our thesis attempts then to reassess mission preaching from within the assumption that local religious beliefs provided materials for interpreting, re-fashioning, and spreading a Christian message

Last but not least, is the spate of denominational histories that have continually flowed from the pens of missionaries, beginning with the mission's pioneer Hope Waddell,² and on down to Donald McFarlan's 1946 centennial history.³ Some of the more personal descriptive histories, such as these by William Marwick,⁴ James Luke,⁵ and Alexander Gammie,⁶ are most helpful in providing "first-hand" historical perspective. These works also fall prey in different places to the subjective weaknesses of the medium. However, they also possess the strength of immediacy, and--particularly Marwick and Luke--never fully degenerate into base hagiography. The material written by the mother church is understandably partisan, as is the work of outsider W.P. Livingstone.⁷ Although these works are on the whole even

1 Sanneh (1987:330-332) and (1989:186).

2 Waddell (1863).

3 McFarlane (1946).

4 Marwick (1897).

5 Luke (1929).

6 Gammie (1938).

7 Livingstone (1923).

handed in the observation of details, all have to be read in light of particular biases. The views of mission preaching and teaching that come through these works, are not substantial, but with proper critical restraint complement the primary sources from the United Presbyterian Church's *Missionary Record*. Let us turn now to these sources.

Sources

Johnston informs us that the Presbyterian Church of Nigeria's holdings prior to 1940--including the minutes of the Mission Council/Committee from 1884-1960, and the Presbytery from 1858-1920, as well as other valuable diaries--were lost as casualties of war at the National Archives in Enugu.¹ Other Nigerian sources are slight before 1950, with the bulk of records belonging to the Education Authority in Calabar for the period after 1950. Sources in the Presbyterian Archives of Toronto detail only historical material after 1955, when the Presbyterian Church in Canada began sending missionaries to Calabar.²

Surviving material significant for our study of mission preaching and response is concentrated in Edinburgh, Scotland. Little remains lodged at the Church of Scotland headquarters in Edinburgh: few Mission Council minutes were

¹ Johnston (1978:48ff.).

² Johnston (1978:50); An almost complete set of Mission Council, Synod, and Synod Committee minutes after 1955 are lodged in Toronto. Oral interviews of Nigerians and missionaries from 1965-1966, 1977, are also there in typescript. Also, the complete files of the General Board of Mission of the Presbyterian Church in Canada is extant in Toronto, including many letters to and from the field after 1955.

preserved before 1940, and most of the pre-1940 handwritten Synod minutes were destroyed. The Synod minutes after 1940 are also incomplete. Some minutes of the Mission Committee survive in the George Street offices of the Church of Scotland, but are not helpful to our study, being mainly about finances and appointments.

A number of outgoing letter books from 1885-1920 have been lodged in the National Library of Scotland, but many letters lodged in Enugu--both to and from the field over that period--have also been lost. Incoming letters of United Presbyterian missionaries to Edinburgh over our period of research have also disappeared, and are not present in the National Library of Scotland.

The journal *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church*, is invaluable. During the nineteenth century the journal published extracts of various mission diaries, which often included notations of both missionary preaching and response. Used critically in conjunction with unpublished diaries of the missionaries, a reliable picture of mission preaching can be built up for the period of our study. The magazines become less helpful for documenting twentieth century mission preaching, as diary extracts are used decreasingly.

A number of missionary diaries generated in the field are also housed in Edinburgh. At the National Library of Scotland, in Edinburgh, are found the most important diary sources for documenting mission preaching: those of Hope Waddell¹ and

¹ Waddell (MSS:7739-7743, 8959).

William Anderson.¹ Waddell's journals are especially rich and reliable sources for gaining an understanding of how the Calabar mission evangelised. A less substantial diary of William Marwick's is located at the University of Edinburgh library. The Calabar mission recorded their mission preaching and teaching with a comparatively high degree of objectivity², and possessed a tendency to regard the responses of their listeners, as well as

¹ Anderson (8943-8945, 8948, 3112, 2981, 2982, 8950, 8952).

² See Taylor (1980:23); Shepherd (1980:vii-viii). Robert I. Rotberg makes the following claims about the reliability and usefulness of Waddell's records on page v. in the Preface to *Twenty-nine Years in the West Indies and Africa*:

Due to Waddell's fastidious record keeping, his book sheds much valuable light on the Scottish evangelists in...the complicated mission field among the creeks and rivers of Eastern Nigeria. Waddell's account provides an interesting and faithful observation of the...impact of the missionary within the tangled knot of commercial and national rivalries existing in the Eastern Nigeria of the middle years of the 19th century. Lastly, the value of Waddell's sympathetic and objective ethnographic data for the anthropologist and student of religion is unquestioned.

the arguments of their adversaries, as worthy of recording.¹ The reliability of these primary sources was certainly an important consideration for producing a study on the mission message within the context of the Calabar mission. The availability of appropriate primary sources on mission proclamation in Calabar, relative to other missions in the period, in itself, is a testimony to the mission's commitment to the preached and spoken word. Finally, let us look in more detail at the critical principles we have used to establish reliable textual renderings of that preached and spoken word in Calabar.

Notes on the Establishment of Mission Preaching Texts in Calabar

Before we begin our study of the expansion and response to mission preaching content at Calabar, we must call more detailed attention to the sources for our inquiry. In looking at the sources, we must ask the critical questions of how far we can rely on the texts we have as accurate and representative of what Waddell and other missionaries actually preached? The documentary

¹ Ajayi (1965:279). In describing the reliability of the mission records Ajayi makes the following important assessment of Waddell's journals as historical sources:

Five of the eleven volumes of Hope Waddell's private diaries [have survived]. These are by far the most important for this study [of the United Presbyterian Mission at Calabar]...He was an honest reporter, a very rare type of missionary who could record faithfully the arguments of his opponents whether fellow missionary or would-be convert.

Ajayi proceeds to assert that the "value of [this] manuscript material...can be illustrated by the way in which these journals, incomplete as they are, illuminate the printed material, even of other missionaries."

evidence on mission preaching is most extensive for Hope Waddell, Hugh Goldie, and William Anderson--the pioneer triumvirate. So we shall treat the reliability of their source documents separately, in the above order, focusing on how we have established on critical foundations the best possible representations of their teaching. We shall also call attention to the reliability of the preaching texts we possess in manuscript for another Calabar missionary--Mary Slessor.

The Journals of Hope Masterton Waddell were retrieved by the late Thomas Price from oblivion and likely destruction and subsequently lodged in the Archives at the National Library of Scotland, in Edinburgh.¹ Thus, seven volumes of an invaluable record of the interaction between Christianity and Efik local religion were preserved. Volumes 1,7,8,10, and 11 document the period of Waddell's ministry in Calabar from January to June 1846, and from June 1849 to September 1856; gaps in the Journal from July 1846-May 1849, as well as from October 1856 to Waddell's retirement in May 1858, are fortunately well documented in both his autobiography and the *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church*.

Scholarly assessments of the reliability of Waddell's journals have been uniformly strong. G.I. Jones maintained in the introduction to the 1969 edition of Waddell's autobiography, that, "Waddell was an accurate and remarkably sympathetic,

¹ Personal communication with Professor Andrew F. Walls, University of Edinburgh.

impartial, and objective observer."¹ Jones went on to maintain that Waddell, "like many other great men of his time, was a historian in spirit... and these, the Hope Waddell Records, constitute the most accurate, detailed, and objective source for the history of eastern Nigeria...during the period from 1846 to 1858."²

We can see the careful historian Waddell at work in the method used to preserve his diary and transmit his entries for publication in *The Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church*. On the inside cover of Waddell's diary, Volume I, we are told that for an early period he sent the original diary material for publication--copying a duplicate before the original was sent off. This insured accuracy of the copy he retained. For every period except the brief early portion, Waddell kept the originals of his diary, and evidently sent copies for publication in the *United Presbyterian Mission* magazine. The Hope Waddell Records at the National Library of Scotland largely consist then, of Waddell's original diary; only the earliest portions are copies of his MS original that Waddell checked for accuracy before being sent for publication. Waddell's attention to detail is apparent in that he marked with a bold "x" all the entries in his MS diary that were not transmitted or not published. This indicates that Waddell was in the habit of making careful comparison of his MS diary with the *Missionary Record* published extracts, which purport to

¹ Jones (1969:ix), in Waddell's *Twenty-Nine years in the West Indies and Central Africa*, second edition, 1970.

² Ibid.

represent his diary. We can therefore at every place in the record, have confidence in the accuracy of the relationship between Waddell's original diary and the MSS we possess. For the early periods in which we possess copies of his original diary--we have Waddell's assurance that he checked the copy against the original; everywhere else we actually possess the original diary. In the case of the sources for his autobiography, Waddell had at his disposal both his diary and the Missionary Record extracts taken largely from copies he himself made from the diary.

Clearly then, the reliability of the various sources can be arranged in a hierarchy. Since Waddell's journals are largely the original MS source for his diary--and in light of Waddell's assurances that for the instances he sent the original off, he himself checked the duplicates we possess against the originals--the Waddell journals clearly must take first rank. The extracts from his diaries in the Missionary Record must rank only a little behind the manuscript--because they consist mostly of copies taken from Waddell's earliest source. For the early periods in which the magazine was taken from the originals, even then Waddell's journals must take precedence over the magazine as the most representative of the original diary text; for no editor could be as attentive as Waddell himself to copying and rendering the extracts completely without error or bias to serve the readership. In the case of the autobiography, Waddell would have had access to both his originals and the "second" generation copies of the mission magazine. On the surface, since the autobiography enjoyed access to "first" generation

sources which the magazine did not, it would appear that the autobiography would be superior as a source to the magazine. However, the fact that the magazine appeared in time closer to the event, and Waddell's autobiography was edited and published in 1863, after time and reflection might have led Waddell into errors or revisions, it must rank third for its reliability.

Therefore, wherever a text has been cited, the MS rendering has been sought, and checked against the Magazine and the autobiography. The MS rendering has been regarded as our textual norm, but in cases where there are time gaps in the diary, the Magazine rendering has been taken. Only if no information exists in the MSS or the Magazine, has the autobiographical rendering of Waddell's words been used. Where the Magazine has diverged from the diary, the magazine has been regarded as the variant or more specious reading. If however, more material exists in the Magazine than in the diary text, the assumption cannot be that the Magazine created material out of whole cloth; in such a case, Waddell probably sent the original of the diary, which contained more information than the copy he kept. Only then can we regard the Magazine as the proper "second generation" rendition of the original diary, taking the view that some form of copying error or omission occurred on the part of Waddell when transmitting his first diary into the "second-generation" copy portions among the original diary. And of course, if Magazine textual material is less than the diary MS, we must assume copying errors or editorial omission on the part of publisher, and take the MS text as authoritative. With such a clear understanding of the history of the textual

development of Waddell's work, and using the above critical analytic guides, we can be confident that an authoritative text of Waddell's preaching has been established and presented to the reader.

Our sources for Goldie's preaching texts come not from manuscripts, but out of extracts from his diary in the *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church*. Our texts then are at best second, possibly even third generation copies, depending upon whether Goldie sent the originals of his diary, or made duplicates of the original diary before sending it for publication. Goldie's qualities of careful scholarship, and Waddell's strong example, make it likely he would have sent the original for publication, and that his reporting of what he taught was equally accurate. Also, since we do not possess any duplicate MSS of Goldie's as we do with Waddell, it increases the chances that the original MSS was sent; thus, the value of the Magazine reports of Goldie's probably represent a second generation copy of his teaching, and could be taken as trustworthy.

Of course we also possess Goldie's history *Calabar and its Mission* published in 1890, but this contains few examples of Goldie's teaching with which to compare to the Magazine articles. Therefore, our best and only source for establishing the bulk of Goldie's teaching remains the Magazine, a second-generation copy, admittedly vulnerable to editorial changes and copyists errors. We must note, however, that the Magazine would be slow to add intentionally to Goldie's words knowing Goldie would ultimately be able to read them and check for

the accuracy he was noted for in all the other phases of his life. The same would apply for any unintentional copying mistakes, as Goldie could rectify them in later issues. It is impossible to verify whether large blocks of Goldie's material was omitted on grounds of limited space, etc. But such changes do not alter the fact that what texts of Goldie we do possess in the Magazine have a high degree of reliability. We cannot criticize as a corruption that text which we do not possess, and the texts we do possess can be seen as authoritative by nature of Goldie's safeguarding character and presence.

We are on better grounds with Anderson. We possess numerous journals and miscellaneous papers of Anderson, housed at the National Library of Scotland. We have his complete journals during 1851-1852, 1876, along with assorted journal entries for 1853. Were this all we had to go on, it would not give us unquestioned confidence that the texts presented by Anderson were entirely representative of his preaching. However, we have an excellent biography of Anderson, written by William Marwick, which quotes copious extracts of Anderson's journal which have not survived. Completing our picture of the sources from which we have access to Anderson's teaching texts, is of course, *The Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church*. Anderson published portions of his journal in this Magazine, as well as yearly reports including what biblical material was taught during the year. The MSS, the *Missionary Record* extracts, and Marwick's quotations of the MSS can thus be taken as providing for an accurate text of Anderson's preaching.

We do not know if the diary and papers we possess can be

called first or second generation, but clearly the Anderson papers are the most reliable textual sources for establishing the actual content of his mission preaching. Again the extracts from the *Missionary Record* will be highly reliable, yet ranked slightly below the MSS. Marwick maintains in his preface that his material was taken from Anderson's own MS Autobiography and Journal, that he possessed access to the widest number of sources available on Anderson, and that his wife copied the extracts from the U.P. *Missionary Record*.¹ Because the material is so heavily dependent upon the *Missionary Record*, and it was written in 1897, Marwick's work must be ranked a close third in reliability in terms of the chances of copying error and editorial bias. However, Marwick had access to large amounts of Anderson's MS journal early on, some of which we no longer possess. Therefore, where there are time gaps in the National Library of Scotland Anderson MSS, and no extract was published in the *Missionary Record*, Marwick as our only source should be regarded as more than adequately trustworthy. Where the National Library MSS diverge from the *Missionary Record* or Marwick, our MSS have been taken, of course, as authoritative. If the *Missionary Record* contains more material than our MS text, we still must consider any MS the superior text, because we do not know if there was an earlier original MS that has been sent for publication in the Magazine or not. Of course if there is more textual material in our manuscripts than in the magazine, the MS text has been chosen. Where no MS reading exists, and where a divergent reading is extant for both the *Missionary Record* and

¹ Marwick (1897:iii-vi).

Marwick, the latter's dependence upon the former renders the magazine the more dependable text.

We do not possess manuscript material for any of the other missionaries, except Mary Slessor, and what little teaching material there is in these MSS does not often directly relate to her extracts in the Missionary Record or in her biography by W.P. Livingstone. Therefore, the material has to be taken largely wherever it is found at face value--without full corroboration; and this is what has been done.

These represent the textual critical principles we have used to establish the most accurate text possible of the mission preaching among the three important pioneers at Calabar. Now let us proceed to examine that mission preaching in Calabar itself--through three main sections of the thesis. In our first section, we shall begin with a historical treatment of the expansion of the mission and its preaching in the chapters one and two. Following this in our second section--comprising chapters three and four--we shall embark upon an historical and theological analysis of how preaching content developed within the ministries of various Scottish United Presbyterian missionaries. In our third section, we shall conclude our thesis in chapters five and six with a historical and theological examination of Efik response to mission preaching--as interpreted through features of local culture and religion. A conclusion and various appendices will follow. In this way, we hope to provide some preliminary assessment of how the Christian message was represented in Calabar. Beyond this however, we offer this thesis to draw attention to the more significant stages in the Christian

transmission: the reception, reformulation, and the
"re-representation" of Christian teaching by various Efik to
the people of the Cross River basin.

Section I.

The Expansion of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland's
Mission and Message in the Cross River Basin

Chapter 1

The Origins and Development of the Calabar Mission, 1846-1858:
Evangelistic Expansion and Social Reform

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the origins and development of the Scottish Calabar Mission will be examined. Our focus will centre upon how the Gospel was represented in the expansion of the United Secession and United Presbyterian Church into the Calabar context. The chapter will include treatments of the significant moments in mission proclamation and local response during the pioneer phase from 1846-1858. Furthermore, the aim of the chapter is to assess the distinctive role mission proclamation played in this early historical phase of the penetration of the Gospel into Calabar society and thought. Although a full treatment of the origins and history of the Calabar mission are beyond the scope of our work on mission proclamation, it is nonetheless important to examine briefly how the origin and subsequent history of the Calabar mission helped to shape preaching form and content. We will also trace how events themselves were affected by the preaching of various missionaries.

Our first task is to identify any key approaches to evangelisation the Calabar pioneer missionaries adopted from their early days in the Jamaican Church. For if we understand how the unique approaches of the early missionaries grew out of the Jamaican mission context, we can discover if any of those methods were carried over to the mission preaching and practice of the United Presbyterian Church pioneers in Calabar. We shall therefore begin with a short treatment on the origins of the Calabar mission in Jamaica, followed by some comment on how the experience affected the preaching, teaching, and indeed the entire

ideological approach of those Scots who would later become pioneers of the Calabar mission in 1846. Then we shall move to the main theme of our chapter--the story of how the pioneers of the Calabar preached from 1846-1858.

1.2 Origins in Jamaica

The Scottish Mission to Calabar, Nigeria, was initiated not in Scotland, but among the congregations of freed slaves of the Jamaica Mission Presbytery.¹ Since 1800, Jamaica had played host to mission agents of the Scottish Missionary Society, spreading the message of the Gospel to slaves--from Kingston into many parts of the island.² Similarly, since 1835 the United Secession Church had maintained missions on the island.³ It was in 1829 that Hope Masterton Waddell, who eventually became the pioneer of the Calabar mission in Nigeria, first entered the Jamaican field at Cornwall as an agent of the Scottish Missionary Society, moving later in 1830 to Mt. Zion, Jamaica.⁴ Following upon the plea of Waddell himself, the United Associate Synod resolved on 10 September 1834 to send two missionaries to Jamaica.⁵ Upon their arrival a year later, the United Secession Church embarked officially upon their work in Jamaica. Two other Calabar pioneers, William Anderson and Hugh Goldie, began their long missionary careers in the Jamaican Mission Presbytery in 1839 and 1840, respectively.⁶ They came out as catechists from

¹ See William Christie (MSS:6), entitled *Annals of The Calabar Mission, 1846-1945: A Skeleton for Historians*.

² Ibid.; McFarlan (1946:4-5).

³ Christie (MSS:5).

⁴ Ibid.; Johnston (1988:8).

⁵ Christie (MSS:5).

⁶ Marwick (1897:83); McKerrow (1867:294).

the United Secession Church previous to its merger with the Relief Church in 1847 that formed the United Presbyterian Church.¹ Many other churches were involved in the mission work of Jamaica, and it soon became expedient to better coordinate efforts and resources. Consequently, on 10 February 1836, the Jamaica Mission Presbytery was reconstituted to form an inter-denominational body that included the Scottish Missionary Society, missionaries of the United Secession Church, as well as other evangelical churches.²

Though Jamaica was an important area of endeavour for the Scottish Society and the United Secession Church, its significance was clearly not limited to spiritual affairs. The island of Jamaica had long been the great field of battle against slavery for the British abolitionists Wilberforce and Buxton. It later proved to be the scene of their crowning victory on 1 August 1834, with the passing of The Act of Emancipation securing the abolition of slavery in British dominions subject to a period of "apprenticeship".³ In the course of the next year following the consummation of the emancipation of Jamaican slaves on 1 August 1838, a missionary society was organised in Hope Waddell's Mount Zion congregation.⁴ Other congregations of the Presbytery soon followed the same course.⁵

During 1839, in the first flush of freedom for the slaves of Jamaica, the Jamaica Mission Presbytery began to

¹ McKerrow (1867:319).

² Ibid., 6.; Goldie and Dean (1901:69).

³ Goldie and Dean (1901:67)

⁴ Christie (MSS:6).

⁵ Ibid.

consider seriously the idea of taking the Gospel which had been instrumental in the spiritual and physical freedom of the Jamaican slaves, back to Africa.¹ It was the considered opinion of the Presbytery, under some influence from Buxton's *The African Slave Trade and its Remedy*, that freed slave converts could be found who were possessed of the best qualities to take the Gospel to their own people.² Before the appearance of Buxton's book and its quick rise to a best-seller status among the churches of Jamaica, the plans for an African mission among the Jamaican Mission Presbytery had remained only vague.³ The only activity had been some sporadic collections during 1838.⁴ The book quickly began to crystallize the desire of the interested parties in Jamaica to undertake such a daring venture.⁵ Although it appears the initiative came from the Presbytery, plans for the mission to Africa were not advanced without a considerable interest from the emancipated Jamaican church members of the Presbytery. Indeed, they put their initiative in tangible form--they provided some of the earliest financial contributions toward the endeavour in the form of spontaneous "freedom's offerings".⁶ Careful inquiry and prayer during 1839 brought further shape to the plan, and eventually it was placed

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.; McFarlan (1946:5); Goldie and Dean (1901:69); Buxton (1839:281-491) reprint 1967.

³ McFarlan (1946:5-6); Goldie and Dean (1901:69-70); Johnston (1988:9).

⁴ *The Scottish Missionary and Philosophical Register*, (S.M.R.), June 1839.

⁵ Johnston (1988:9).

⁶ Ibid.; McFarlan, loc.cit.

on the agenda for the Presbytery meeting of July 1841.¹ The length of gestation from 1838 through 1841 suggests the plan was neither ill-conceived, nor hasty in being brought forward. At the meeting held at Goshen, each of the eight missionaries present resolved to go forward with an enterprise to open a mission to West Africa staffed largely by Jamaicans, but supervised by missionaries acclimated to a tropical climate.² The resolution which was eventually adopted on 14 September, affirmed that each man "...gave his opinion in favour of the new mission, and expressed his readiness to go forth on it, if called thereto by his brethren, and approved of by the church at home."³

Despite recognition of the admirable zeal of the Jamaican Presbytery, both the Scottish Missionary Society and the United Secession Church were strongly dismissive of the proposal.⁴ They regarded the Jamaican mission as possessing more zeal than resources at their disposal for the accomplishment of the West African mission.⁵ But in truth, the chilly response reflected more the bitter taste in Scottish mouths after the ill-fated Government Niger expedition of 1841, than any perceived deficiencies on the part of the Jamaicans.⁶ Undeterred, the Jamaica mission Presbytery reconvened the following year in 1842

¹ McFarlan, loc.cit.; Goldie and Dean (1901:69).

² Goldie and Dean (1901:70); McFarlan (1946:5-6); S.M.R., February 1845.

³ Christie (MSS:6).

⁴ Ibid.; Johnston (1988:10).

⁵ McFarlan (1946:6-7).; Goldie and Dean (1901:72-73).

⁶ McFarlan, loc.cit.; Goldie and Dean, loc.cit.; Johnston (1988:10).

to record their continued commitment to introduce the Gospel into Africa. The Presbytery maintained that they:

...agreed to record that the desire of members to aid in introducing the Gospel into Central Africa is unabated, that they view the proposed mission with increasing interest, and entertain the same sense of duty in relation to it as at the first.¹

The content and tone of these early resolutions clearly demonstrated that preaching the Gospel was uppermost in the minds of the Calabar pioneers. Furthermore, such resolutions began to demonstrate that more than zeal was behind the proposal to take the Gospel to Africa: indeed, both duty and practicality were also driving the company. With able advocacy coming from the respected Jamaican missionaries Revs. George Blyth and Peter Anderson during their furloughs of 1842, the idea began to find a warmer reception among the Scottish Churches.² Further support came from Dr. William Fergusson of Liverpool, and Blyth and Anderson were soon introduced to the captains of the ships trading with Calabar.

Two key players operating in the Calabar area, John Beecroft, Her Majesty's informal representative on the coast, and Commander Raymond of the Royal Navy, had held discussions as early as 1841 with the chiefs of Calabar concerning the suitability of a mission in their region.³ Upon concluding the treaty with Raymond on the abandonment of the slave trade in November of 1842, the chiefs forwarded a most favourable invitation for missionaries to settle at Calabar.⁴ Ironically, before

¹ Christie (MSS:6); Goldie and Dean (1901:73).

² Christie, loc.cit.; McFarlan, loc.cit.

³ Christie (MSS:7); McFarlan (1946:7-8).

⁴ Christie, loc.cit.; McFarlan, loc.cit.

the invitation was received in Scotland, the chiefs had in hand a proposal for a mission from the Jamaica Mission Presbytery conveyed through Captain William Turner, one of the captains introduced to Blyth and Anderson by Dr. Fergusson.¹ The invitation sent by the chiefs initially through Commander Raymond read:

Now we settle treaty for not sell slaves, I must tell you something I want your queen to do for we. Now we can't sell slaves again, we have too much man for country, and want something for make work and trade, and if we could get seed for cotton and coffee, we could make trade, and plenty sugar cans live here, and if some man come teach we way for to do it we get plenty sugar too, and then some man should come for teach book proper and make we all saby [know] God like white man and then we go on for same fashion.²

In a similar vein, the response of the Calabar chiefs to Captain Turner's proposal came after many months:

We the undersigned, king and chiefs of Old Calabar, having consulted together, agree to those things before written, and request you to come among us.

King Eyamba the Fifth
Henshaw Duke
Mr. Young
Duke Ephraim

Ekpo Jack
Adam Duke
Bashy Offary
Antern Duke³

It was obviously an idea whose time had come, with independent

¹ Christie, loc.cit.; McFarlan, loc.cit.; Waddell (1863:206-9).

² Eyamba to Raymond, December 4, 1842, in Waddell (1863:663). As Hugh Goldie (1901:73) relates, this letter prompted considerations of mounting an agricultural mission at first, but was later reconsidered because of its perceived incompatibility with the primary intention of instruction in the Gospel. Again, this is evidence that the spread of the Gospel message through preaching and teaching was the prime objective of the Scottish Presbyterian pioneers at Calabar.

³ McFarlan (1946:8); Goldie and Dean (1901:75); Waddell, loc.cit.

initiatives from both Calabar and the Scottish Churches exchanged almost simultaneously through the agency of supportive Liverpool shipping captains. Although the idea had come, the fulness of time had not yet arrived. More persuasion was needed before the initiative would be supported by the Secession Church. This spark was provided when the respected Rev. John Robson of Glasgow, a staunch supporter of the mission to Africa, returned from six months in Jamaica.¹ In May of 1844, the United Associate Synod of the Secession Church met in Glasgow, and unanimously agreed to sanction the adoption of measures for extending a mission to Africa.² The Synod instructed the committee superintending foreign missions to work in conjunction with the Jamaican Mission Presbytery towards establishing the Calabar mission.³

After receiving a letter from Captain Beecroft saying that Eyamba of Duke Town had long been expecting the missionaries, the Jamaica Mission Presbytery purposed on 12 September 1844 to send Hope Waddell to Scotland to organise the mission.⁴ Soon thereafter, the Scottish Missionary Society granted Waddell a

¹ Christie, loc.cit.

² Christie (MSS:7); Goldie and Dean (1901:76).

³ Ibid.; Goldie and Dean, loc.cit.

⁴ Christie, loc.cit.; Goldie and Dean, loc.cit.; McFarlan, op.cit., 10. Such was the Jamaican Presbytery's resolve for the mission that funds were obtained, so that if the Society and the home churches were found reticent to support it, the Presbytery could proceed to Africa independent of the home governing bodies. Indeed, the Presbytery appointed Hope Waddell to be the first representative of this independent missionary society to the Scottish churches and to Calabar. See McFarlan (1946:10), and Christie, op.cit., 7. Although the act is sometimes painted as a bold rebuke, some members protested that no further action be taken until the consent of the Scottish Missionary Society was forthcoming, which nevertheless came a few months later. See Christie, loc.cit., 7.

leave of absence to lay the proposal of the Calabar mission before the churches in Scotland to secure their support.¹ The Jamaica Presbytery then set Waddell apart to initiate the African mission, and he set sail for New York on 11 January 1845, only to be shipwrecked en route on the Grand Cayman.² After arriving belatedly in Scotland, Waddell addressed his appeal for the mission "to those who love the Lord Jesus Christ, and desire the extension of His blessed Kingdom upon the earth."³ Few could refuse an appeal in such terms, and few did. His call for support found a warm reception.⁴

On 22 April 1844, at a meeting of the United Associate Synod's Committee on Foreign Missions, the United Secession Church adopted the mission, further placing all the assistance within their power at the service of Waddell and the other agents, for both the preparation and the execution of the mission.⁵ Waddell later addressed the Synod on 7 May 1845, and it was finally decided, after almost six years of administrative and church deliberation, to establish a missionary station on the Western Coast of Africa at Calabar.⁶ Throughout the remainder of 1845 Waddell was involved heavily in pleading the cause of the mission further, and raising support from Christians of all

¹ Christie, loc.cit.; Goldie and Dean, loc.cit.; McFarlan, loc.cit.

² Christie, op.cit., 7-8.

³ McFarlan, op.cit., 11.; Goldie and Dean, op.cit., 76.

⁴ McFarlan, loc.cit.; Goldie and Dean, loc.cit.

⁵ Christie, loc.cit.; Johnston (1988:11).

⁶ Christie, loc.cit.

denominations in Scotland to the amount of over £ 4,000.¹ With the generous gifts of a sloop from Provost Baikie of Kirkwall, and the schooner *Warree* plus yearly sums for its sailing and maintenance expenses coming forth from Robert Jameson of Liverpool, the preparation of the Liverpool committee had the party ready to sail for Calabar by the end of the year.² With Waddell sailed Mr. Samuel Edgerly, catechist and printer, and his wife, as well as an assistant Andrew Chisholm, Edward Miller, carpenter, and George B. Waddell, the leader's houseservant.³ After every conceivable preparation, and among a considerable crowd of well-wishers, warm good-byes were said as the *Waree* and the Waddell company set sail on 6 January 1846, to commence preaching the Gospel among the people of Calabar.⁴

1.3 Early Preaching and Teaching Patterns of the Pioneers in Jamaica

1.3.1 Hope Waddell, 1829-1846

During the years 1829 to 1846, before he left to embark upon his work in Nigeria, Waddell had developed into a very effective missionary preacher, and learned firsthand how to apply the message of the Gospel within a complex cultural and political context requiring guided, yet sensitive change. Clearly his

¹ Christie, loc.cit.; McKerrow (1867:373). McKerrow's estimate was that upwards of 3,000 pounds were collected, but this was admittedly over the course of the first few months of fund-raising. The total in the end, with the selling of the sloop included was probably closer to 4,000 pounds, as Christie records.

² Christie, loc.cit.; McKerrow, loc.cit.; Goldie and Dean, op.cit., 77; McFarlan, op.cit., 12.

³ Christie, loc.cit.; McKerrow, loc.cit.; Groves (1954:33-40).

⁴ McFarlan, loc.cit.; Goldie and Dean, op.cit., 78; Groves, loc.cit.

early preaching approach was based on a strong dose of conviction, and was attended with not a little success. As his diary for 10 January 1830 shows for one of his first preaching encounters, Waddell was capable of stirring the congregation to great emotion:

[I] went with Mr. Watson and preached at Green Island...[After the sermon they] begged... 'O stay and make us hear the gospel, tell us the good Word and we will hear it.' I was affected to tears, for I had often heard of the Macedonian cry 'Come over and help us', but here I witnessed it.¹

Very early on in Jamaica, and carrying right through to the end of his preaching in Calabar, Waddell consistently felt that the best response in the mission field was obtained by keeping to the very plainest parts of God's word--"the first principles of the oracles of God".² Indeed, Waddell demonstrated the principle of treating simply both the doctrine and the duty of the Christian, on 24 September 1830, preaching in Cornwall. After a simple description of discipleship, and by reading a sermon by Pitcairn, Waddell says a number were converted as follows with the words:

'Well, what do you say? Do you accept of Christ or not?' They replied (most of them), 'We do massa, we do take Christ for our Saviour.'... 'Are you willing to obey the command of God, to believe in His Son Jesus Christ?' They exclaimed, 'we willing, massa, we willing.'³

The fact that Waddell read a printed sermon with such response, points clearly to the fact that these Jamaicans were prepared for hearing the Gospel. Certainly the reading of a sermon was most

¹ S.M.R., Vol. 11, (1830:337).

² Ibid., Vol. 12, (1831:98).

³ S.M.R., Vol. 12, (1831:98).

uncharacteristic of his preaching approach, as well as being inconsistent with the great stress on pulpit oratory by the United Presbyterians.¹ Yet, the use of a printed sermon clearly shows that Waddell trusted in his discernment of the people's need; he also was relying on his conviction of God's redemptive provision, rather than upon superiority of speech. He would certainly come to possess this clever and powerful speech.

At this stage in Jamaica, Waddell had realized the limitations of preaching in the mission context, and he sought to instruct within certain restraints. As the following quotation suggests, Waddell's preparation and preaching at Mt. Zion was done with those constraints in mind; subsequently Waddell's teaching characteristically confronted his hearers with the simple claims of the Gospel, under the assumption that his listeners were truly in need of the Gospel he represented:

...the work of Christian instruction could not be effectively carried on, among the sort of people who formed the bulk of most missionary congregations in the colony, by mere preaching, as commonly understood. They were not used to give the continuous, close attention, which the full and regular exhibition of the great topics of the Christian faith require....Babes require not only a different kind of food from men of full age, but a different preparation of it. I mean not to reflect on the mental capabilities of the African race, nor to countenance erroneous theories as to its position among other races of mankind; but merely to refer to the state in which we found the people...and to the means best adapted to their mental and spiritual im-

¹ In 1849, in an effort to maintain their high standard of popular preaching, the United Presbyterians legislated to prevent the reading of sermons in public worship. See *Proceedings of the United Presbyterian Synod, U.P.S.*, (1849:197-199).

provements.¹

If this was true in Jamaica, it would be fair to say that it would become equally important to adopt such flexibilities with preaching in Calabar. Indeed, this direct teaching approach would remain a distinctive quality of Waddell's mission preaching in Calabar, even if he had to be reminded of it by King Eyo, and moreover, even if he did not always keep to his own maxim of preaching the first principles of Christianity with unadorned simplicity. Waddell nevertheless showed early signs of marked conviction in presenting a Christian message.

Clearly this conviction translated well when pitching his message to the individual. But we also are offered a glimpse of Waddell's early approach to applying the message of the Gospel to reach a consensus within the community. In an extract from a letter dated 4 April 1833, Waddell includes a description of how he read the 3rd Chapter of 1st John, and then "discoursed" on the nature of a Christian Church, and the duties of its members to one another, and to those who are over them in the Lord.² By using such scripture, Waddell clearly intended to preach on the identity of the individual within the corporate body, as one of many children of God. Furthermore, the text called for him to address the verse on "the message which you have heard from the beginning" namely to love another (1 John 3.11), as their duty to one another as brothers and sisters (vs.15-17). Along similar lines on 8 September 1839, Waddell preached at Mt. Horeb from the text Mark 4. 30-32:

¹ Waddell (1863:159-160).

² S.M.R., Vol.14, (1833:296-297).

From this I showed that the Church of God, when once fairly begun, however small, grows constantly, till it attains a great size, and usefulness. Then I pointed out the means that must be used to promote the growth of this plant on the earth.¹

The text from Mark demonstrates how the kingdom of God as a minority community grows, penetrates, and renovates the larger social order. It represents an important example of how Waddell began to choose preaching themes that addressed not only the individual within a larger social grouping, but how individual and corporate belief together could thereby renew impoverished moral and cultural contexts. Such preaching on the kingdom of God as it expands to provide shelter for the oppressed through a new social consensus, was applied soon enough to the Calabar religious and cultural context, and was to form a major element in Waddell's mission preaching program there in the future.²

Waddell also formed his first views in Jamaica on how the Gospel should address and relate to local religion and culture. In July of 1843, Waddell was confronted by the renewed vigour of the Obeah and Myall "superstition".³ He attempted to address the phenomena by preaching on 1 John 4.1, "Beloved,

¹ S.M.R., Vol.21, (1840:1-3).

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:27), 26 March 1848; U.P.C.M.R., Vol.5, (1850:40-41), 2 September 1849.

³ S.M.R., Vol. 26, (1843:2-5). In a footnote, Waddell explains the characteristics of the Obeah and Myall as seen among the congregations in Jamaica:

Obeah signifies a mischievous charm set to hurt people, and those who employ it are called Obeah people. Myall designates those who are employed in discovering and extracting it, whether out of the ground, or the house, or the person's flesh. The latter describe the former as wicked people, and themselves as good, for counteracting the wickedness which the others practise.

believe not every spirit."¹ In a letter dated 4 October, 1843, Waddell includes a few comments on the appropriateness of this passage in respect of the Obeah and Myall "witchcraft":

The text was appropriate, as these Myall people say they have the Spirit of God, and call themselves Angel people sent by God to purge the world from all wickedness.²

It became Waddell's intention to preach the Myallists out of their error. Yet upon confronting them at one of their dances "for the dead", he was interrupted with the claim that the people were not mad, but had the Spirit, and it was Waddell himself who was mad and rude, for intruding where he had no right.³ His action was consistent with the approaches of other missionaries on the island who united with Waddell in denouncing Myall, being at a loss for any more constructive approaches.⁴ During a group meeting organised to expound against the Myallists in a quieter mood, Waddell proclaimed:

I touched a little on their display of ingratitude to a gracious God and a faithful minister, and seriously called upon them to reflect, and to return before the Lord's fury should be poured out on them.⁵

The Presbytery decided to eventually take strong disciplinary action against the worst of the offenders--cutting them off from the Church.⁶ Those less recalcitrant were examined individually, admonished, and if possible, restored.⁷ For Waddell and the

¹ Ibid.
² Ibid., 3.
³ Ibid., 4.
⁴ Ibid., 69-70.
⁵ Ibid., 69.
⁶ Ibid., 70.
⁷ Ibid.

Scots missionaries, the whole resurgence within Christian ritual of this vital element of local religion was chalked up to idolatry, and explained by the absence of the weighty authority of the experienced George Blyth.¹ This was to remain Waddell's standard tactic for addressing local religious principles and practices in Calabar as well.²

1.3.2 William Anderson, 1839-1849

Turning now to the second of the pioneers, William Anderson, we also find a number of preaching themes present in his Jamaica work that were applied later in Calabar. Very early in his ministry, within ten days of his arrival in 1839 in Port Maria, Jamaica, Anderson addressed a prayer meeting on what developed into one of his favourite texts, Joshua 24.15, "Choose you this day whom ye will serve."³ From this text, we can pick up clues to how Anderson addressed the religious beliefs of the people of Jamaica and ultimately of Calabar: with a ringing challenge to serve the true God who brings people out of bondage, rather than the false gods of their fathers which keep communities in spiritual and physical oppression. Here again, the note of bringing people out of cultural bondage by spiritual transformation is present within the early preaching of one of the Calabar pioneers. William Marwick, Anderson's biographer, confirms that the text from Joshua was well used over

¹ Ibid.

² See Waddell's comparison of Calabar "witchcraft" or "ifot" with the Obeah superstitions in U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2, (1847:30).

³ Marwick (1897:91). Marwick himself asserts that this was a favourite text of Mr. Anderson's, from which he was often to preach. He further states that several sermon outlines of this text existed, which at the time was true enough, but have since been lost.

the course of his career.¹ It is helpful to note that Anderson preached from this text first in Jamaica, but applied the text again on a number of occasions in Calabar, indicating the text was at least marginally successful as a mission theme.²

Marwick's statements are most instructive in another way, for they maintain that various sermon outlines he observed on the text were substantially identical, save for illustrative material. He gives us, therefore, some evidence that Anderson approached at least his favourite sermon texts with a marked degree of consistency over the course of his missionary career.

The strong emphasis on personal decision which is characteristic of Anderson's preaching, can be seen in an early form in Jamaica.³ On 17 April 1840, Good Friday, a meeting had convened to practise sacred music, and because the crowd was so large, Anderson felt it necessary to seize the opportunity to say "a few words".⁴ He proceeded to address the people, presumably impromptu, on John 14.1-3, which must have also been a text he was

¹ Another text Anderson preached consistently in Jamaica and Calabar with a related theme of choosing the Lord, was Exodus 32.26. See Anderson (MSS 8945), where 12 references to sermons delivered in Jamaica from that text are found. Cf. Anderson (MSS 8944:58), where reference is found to the text being used on 11 April, 1852.

² Cf. Anderson (MSS 8944:69, 71). Anderson used the text on 19 Sept, and 10 October 1852 in Calabar. On the first occasion it was used, it was his second attempt at preaching in Efik, and thus, it must have been chosen for its familiarity to make the effort at speaking in Efik easier. On the second occasion, Anderson noted, "Young Eyo said all understood..".

³ In a later chapter, we will demonstrate statistically to what degree Anderson's preaching emphasized the relation between the self and God. Exodus 32:26, delivered at least 12 times in Jamaica (MSS 8945), is clearly a text dealing with personal choice for the Lord against the backdrop of pagan idolatry.

⁴ Marwick, *op.cit.*, 97-98.

familiar with from frequent use.¹ The textual theme, "In my Father's House there are many mansions", is built upon an exhortation to individuals in verse 1, "Let not your heart be troubled; believe in God, believe also in Me." It is a theme of comfort directed at reminding individuals of the presence of God, even in dark times. The text, appears to be an entirely appropriate one for an informal Good Friday meeting. Anderson made appeal to it again in Calabar.²

To assume that Anderson was purely pietistic in his preaching subjects would be misleading. Anderson came to Jamaica in 1839, just one year after the final consummation of slave emancipation in August of 1838, and he could not have failed to be impressed by the triumphalism of the missionary community: they claimed the preaching of the Word had caused temporal, as

¹ Ibid.

² Anderson (MSS 8944:51), 1 February, 1852.

well as spiritual deliverance.¹ Because of this climate, it is no wonder that we have references in his biography of Anderson preaching on both secular redemption for the community, as well as spiritual renewal. On 1 August 1840, Anderson addressed a crowd at Rose Hill chapel to commemorate the Act of Emancipation, choosing to elaborate on Exodus 12.40-42, and Hebrews 2.3:

From the former passage, I spoke of the great temporal deliverance which had been wrought

¹ Very early on in Jamaica, Christian leaders were drawing an explicit causal connection between the ministry of Christian mission in Word and secular renewal. Publicly, Christians were proclaiming that the preaching of the Word of God was responsible for setting not only the spiritual captive free in Jamaica, but was influential in emancipating the Jamaican slave as well. The extent to which such sentiments found wide currency can be seen in the following pulpit oratory of the Unitarian leader Dr. Channing, whom Goldie and Dean quote concerning emancipation in the West Indies:

When I look at this Act...I see that Christianity did not come into this world in vain. I see that the blood of the cross was not shed in vain. I see that the prophecies in the Scriptures of a mighty change in human affairs, were not idle words... a new principle derived from Christianity, and destined to renovate the earth, is at work amid these various elements,--that silently a new spirit of humanity,--a new respect for human nature--a new comprehension of human rights,--a new feeling of brotherhood, and new ideas of the social state;-have been and are unfolding themselves under the influence of Christian truth and Christian civilisation, who can deny? Society is not what it once was....and we are beginning to learn the mighty revolution which a heavenly faith is to accomplish on the earth.

See Goldie and Dean (1901:66); Clearly, such a comment assumes that renovation of the social order as well as the individual soul is a necessary outgrowth of affirming and applying the Word of God in the world. It was in this type of mission context, where leaders held such high views of the influence Christian truth could have on the individual and the society, that Waddell, Anderson, and Goldie first learned their approach to mission. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain why Goldie included this quotation in his history of the Calabar mission.

by God for the negroes of Jamaica; and from the latter, of a more important deliverance than that, even the "Great Salvation."¹

The above passage illustrates perfectly the two-fold emphasis of the Scots, both in Jamaica and Calabar. First it showed that they unashamedly connected the spread of the Gospel with the spread of social and economic renewal, the abolition of the slave trade, and cultural change. But secondly, and equally, they believed strongly that the spread of the message of the Gospel could, and would penetrate all systems of local "superstition". To hold these two-fold emphases up to the community in Jamaica, the Church held the yearly Commemoration of the Act of the Emancipation. It was through this agency, where preaching messages were used to remind the community of the "victory" of Christianity over slavery in Jamaica, that Anderson as well as Waddell and Goldie formed their ideas of social and spiritual change that came to inform their teaching ministry in Calabar. Indeed Hebrews 2.3 was presented by Anderson early in his ministry at Duke Town on 30 March 1851, although in this context, the message came to be applied more in terms of individual escape from sin, rather than from slavery.²

1.3.3 Hugh Goldie, 1840-1847

The last Calabar pioneer who laboured in Jamaica we shall treat is Hugh Goldie. It was in Jamaica, as with Hope Waddell and William Anderson, that Goldie formed his mission work ethic and methods. He brought to Calabar what he had learned in Jamaica: an abiding sense that by teaching the Bible with tenacity, a culture in bondage to idolatry could be transformed

¹ Marwick, op.cit., 104-106.

² Anderson (MSS 8944:13).

into a model of the kingdom of God. For Hugh Goldie the catechist in Jamaica, the transmission of the Gospel to individuals became an exercise in methodically expounding from the scriptures--strong on exegesis, and short on oratory. Although he pastored the large Creek Town church in Calabar until 1895, he always remained a catechist essentially.¹ Goldie describes his routine of labour in Jamaica:

Since coming down I have commenced two public meetings on the week day evenings. On Tuesday evening for Old Testament history, and Thursday evening for catechetical exercises. In these exercises the Shorter Catechism is our text-book; and as we are going over it the second time in our meeting, we take a text of Scripture by way of proof along with our question for the night.²

Countless reports from the *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church* list similar repetitive accounts of how Goldie assiduously propounded the whole Bible in Calabar. For Goldie, a scholar to the end, adopted less of a homiletic or exhortative approach to preaching, and opting more for a didactic style, he was consistent with his nature.

During his time in Jamaica from 1840, Goldie worked with his colleagues towards building up a spiritual church. He was also sensitive, as he ever remained, in providing encouragement through his teaching so his listeners could build a more just society, for all concerned. Goldie displayed an awareness of the need for the protection of human rights to secure the foundation upon which a spiritual community could be erected. He was impressed enough by the successes of both social and spiritual

¹ McFarlan, op.cit., 58.

² McKerrow (1867:294-5).

renewal in Jamaica, to recount them in his history of the Calabar mission. He recalled that even at the stage before full emancipation in 1838, many slaves had been touched in Jamaica by the freedom of Christ through the efforts of the various missionary agencies, sometimes at great cost:

Before human legislation had struck off the fetters which it had imposed, multitudes of the slave population had attained the higher freedom which Christ bestows. By the labour of the missionaries, carried on commonly against persistent opposition, and not infrequently under persecution, large congregations had been gathered throughout the islands, and numerous churches formed.¹

From this, we see that Goldie held the primary purpose of the missionary was to promote conversion among the peoples to which he had been sent. But as this excerpt also suggests, such attempts at conversion carried a great responsibility to bring greater freedom to those people by opposing injustice both endemic to, and imposed upon the culture.

From all the evidence, we can discern that a consistent ideological approach to mission was certainly present in Waddell, Anderson, and Goldie prior to 1846; this helped give rise to the assumptions and methods used in establishing Christianity among the Efik people at Calabar. The Scots missionaries presented a message in Jamaica of social justice, against the prevailing attitudes of slave traders and planters. Yet their message was presented with a view towards creating spiritual communities of converted individuals. The Jamaican Mission Presbytery was indeed interested in producing churches through presenting the

¹ Goldie and Dean (1901:69).

message of personal salvation. However, at the same time, they were prepared to extend their influence into areas of social reform. A spiritual climate strongly stressing mission to the Jamaican slave population existed among some of the Churches during the period leading up to emancipation, and clearly, the Scots' preaching of the Gospel in Jamaica had some part to play in creating a mission conceived in terms that included emancipation. In the end, the exposure of the Scottish missionaries Waddell, Anderson, and Goldie to these various historical and ideological features within the Jamaica mission helped to form within their preaching a spiritual vision of a new, freer humanity in Christ. But more importantly, among both these mission agents and certain ex-slaves in Jamaica, a desire had been planted to extend their mission to those forebears of the slaves in Southeastern Nigeria perceived to be still under the bondage of sin, as well as captivity to a persistent slave trade.¹

1.4 The Expansion and Representation of the Gospel in Calabar 1846-1858

1.4.1 First Contact and Waddell's Early Explorations in Preaching

On 10 April 1846, Waddell and the Edgerly family arrived in

¹ McFarlan (1946:5) states that:

There was little need to impress on the minds of the people [the slaves in Jamaica] the wretched state of their kinsmen in Africa. On one occasion, a missionary seeking to enlighten his people on certain evil customs of the African coast found that his congregation could enlighten him.

McFarlan goes on to detail how this congregation explained to their missionary from memories of their childhood, various cruel customs observed on the death of a king.

Calabar on Captain Beecroft's steamer *Ethiope*, followed by the rest of the party in the *Warree* a day later.¹ On that day, the missionaries were introduced to Eyo, and later Eyamba, the chiefs of the leading Calabar settlements of Creek and Duke Towns, respectively.² After a visit to the towns themselves with Captain Beecroft on 11 April, meetings were arranged on 12 and 21 April with first Eyamba, and then Eyo, on the the matter of land for the mission, and to make known the object of the mission in a tangible form by presenting both kings a Bible as a gift.³ Eyamba's meeting was rather perfunctory,⁴ but during the week following it, numerous first opportunities of presenting the Gospel were squeezed into the midst of the mundane routine of living on the trading ships and establishing the mission in the area. Most of these initial proclamations were discussions with individuals to establish among them the loving and benevolent character of God. On 18 April 1846, three such encounters occurred between Waddell and various Calabar worthies, the first opportunity on record having presented itself in Old Town during a visit with a man called Willie Tom Robbins, chief of Old Town.⁵ On Waddell's picking up an esere bean on the table, it was quickly snatched away, and Robbins exclaimed, "It make

¹ Christie, *op.cit.*, 11.; Waddell (1863:241-242).

³ Christie, loc.cit.; Waddell, op.cit., 244-5; McFarlan (1946:16); Goldie and Dean (1901:84).

⁵ Waddell (MSS 7739:33); Waddell (1863:251).

freemason."¹ Waddell then pointed to a wasp's nest over the door, and asked him why they were kept there. "Them my doctor," he replied, and requested Waddell not to touch them. Waddell concluded from this first brush with local Efik religion that the man regarded the nests as capable of protecting him from all harm. Furthermore, two skulls were found on the ground at the doorstep for protection from enemies, and were evidently found at that time at every door in Creek Town except one.² Waddell then proceeded to address the man and his "superstition":

I remarked to him that if he prayed to God,
He would keep him from all harm, for He was
good, and loved to do good.³

The response given to Waddell was clearly perceived by him to need theological correction:

'Yes,' said he, 'God do every thing. God
do good, God do bad.' 'Oh no, God never
do bad,' I replied, 'The devil does bad,
but God does only good.'⁴

Upon further inquiry, Waddell came to understand that Robbins meant in his replies, a physical, and not moral evil.

Waddell found that it was necessary to continue on this

¹ Ibid. The esere bean was used in ndem efik, or Calabar religious practice, to reveal the source of supposed witchcraft and harm through administering this poison to the accused in a public ritual ordeal. However, without administering an emetic, the bean accomplished its deadly duty without discrimination to the guilt or the innocence of the accused. The derivation of the use of the word "freemason" to describe the bean and its associated function could not be traced by Waddell (1863:252). Nevertheless, the link with the mysterious arts of the secret mason society is understandable, if one assumes that consistent trading with Europeans from the 16th century probably brought the people of Calabar into contact with masons on the trading ships. See Waddell, loc.cit.

² Waddell (1863:252).

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

theme of a loving God, when King Eyo came to pay a visit on the same day. Once in the cabin, we listen to Waddell's remarks on the interview:

Availing myself of the opportunity of being alone with him..., I spoke to him of the value of God's word, and the love of God to us through his dear son, and the blessed and glorious gift of eternal life hereafter, quoting the text, 'God so loved the world,' etc. He listened with attention but made no remark and soon after took his leave.¹

Waddell goes on to reflect on this first opportunity to present the Gospel message at length, and informally to King Eyo:

He really is a fine man. It seems to me unnecessary to prove to these people that there is a God who made all things. All men naturally believe that point. Like the Bible, I take that as a certain well known point and proceed directly to the revelation of his character and will of his redeeming love in Christ. This is the revelation of God.²

Here is a clear example of Waddell's earliest mission preaching principles and some of the theological themes he wished to emphasize. Although Waddell did not feel at this early stage the need to establish the existence of God to the Efik, after his initial encounter, he determined that the Efik needed some reinforcement in their view of God's character as good and loving. However, we learn from these initial encounters that Waddell's intention was to discover what beliefs the Efik held, and to at least avoid repeating the theological foundations with which both Christianity and Efik religion shared.

If there were any doubt about the Efik's view of a loving

¹ Ibid.; *The Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church, U.P.C.M.R.*, Vol.1, (1846:139) contains a number of minor textual variations that have been included.

² Waddell (MSS 7739:33).

God from his previous conversations, Waddell was to be pleasantly surprised by the theological response of a man named Jose, outside the ship later on the same date:

[Jose] said, 'I glad you come for teach Calabar man saby [to know] God.' 'Yes, God is good,' I replied, 'He is Father of us all. It is good to know and serve him.' 'Very true,' he said again, 'if men saby God when they dead they go to God. If they no saby God, when they dead they go to the devil, to fire.' Where he learned that truth I know not. Good that he knows so much. It is a foundation for all the rest.¹

So from these initial three encounters, Waddell determined that a foundation of scriptural truths were present in the people of Calabar to various degrees, with all appearing to assume a God made this world. With a lesser degree of uniformity, however, there seemed to be some vague notions of God's character as loving and good, as well as of man's evil and accountability before God. We see evidence that Waddell was attempting to examine African thought and customs upon which to base his preaching, but nevertheless a marked disregard for their custom is also evident. In a conversation with a man discussing "devil" houses where certain rituals take place upon the death of a free-man, Waddell asked during his first few weeks in Calabar:

'They kill man when they make it [devil]', I enquired. 'No kill man, but plenty goats and fowls,' he replied. 'What is the good of putting all these things to spoil, so many dishes and pots and calabashes and pillows?' 'I don't know,' he answered, 'It must be to keep the dead man quiet, fear he come back and kill somebody. Them for him to use.' 'Can man eat and drink after he is dead?' [Waddell asked] He laughed. 'Pray to God my friend, and never fear. Dead man

¹ Ibid.

cannot come back to hurt anybody.¹

Furthermore, Waddell stressed on at least one other occasion trusting and praying to God as protection against fear, and as an antidote to their foolish superstitions. While clearing bushes for a mission house, a skeleton found in the underbrush almost halted progress until Waddell proclaimed:

Ah you poor black people, that is what makes you so low, you dread for everything and don't know God. Do like white people, trust in God, pray to Him, and fear nothing.²

An inconsistency towards indigenous customs was prevalent throughout Waddell's ministry at Calabar. In a similar incident to the one above, in which Waddell discovered a fowl tied to a stake for God "to chop" (eat), he reflects on the relationship of these cultural elements to his preaching enterprise:

These little offerings to God of fowls and eggs...originate probably in a pious feeling, and are not to be despised. Perhaps the persons who make them will serve God better when they know him better. The light of nature teaches them to do something to please God, and what they can they do, though from ignorance it be done foolishly. 'What therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you.'³

Here, Waddell viewed these Efik religious practices as "pious" feelings improperly directed, and therefore simply superstition --not to be feared, but rather pitied. Waddell also appealed to Pauline precedent (Acts 17:23), by assuming that where ignorance prevailed, only a truth from outside local patterns of belief could be the basis of any preaching declaration. Indeed, as can be seen in the following letter from the *Missionary*

¹ Ibid., 36.

² Waddell (MSS 7739:37). The event occurred on 25 April 1846.

³ Ibid., 46.

Record of the United Presbyterian Church, Waddell wrote a justification of why he apparently went to great lengths to record, if not understand, the customs of the Efik among whom he laboured:

I wish to observe the people in their social condition and institutions, and know the sort of materials with which, and on which we have to work the work of God. Paul spent some days in Athens observing the superstitions of the people, before he preached the gospel to them, and improved the knowledge he had thus gained to preach the truth of God with more effect. The time is coming when these things will pass away and be forgotten, and be replaced by something more manlike, and more godlike....To the new race which God will have transformed, or be transforming, it may be a profitable momento 'of the rock whence they were hewn, and the hole of the pit whence they were digged, showing how the Lord can out of stones raise up children of Abraham.¹

The excerpt is of course addressed to his mission constituency, and it displays a dismissal of the very customs Waddell maintained were valuable to record. The quotation suggests that for Waddell the pioneer, culture and social structures were to be understood largely^{as} a means to direct the evangelistic program towards the creation of a church; eventually such a church would sweep away those very religious and cultural elements upon which many of his appeals had been based. This reveals much about Waddell's assumptions and method of preaching concerning local religion. It shows a deep ambivalence towards local cultural customs that would run through Waddell's preaching--at times interested in local practices, at other times totally dismissive of their religious features.

In view of this ambivalence to local custom, Nair's

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1848:106).

statement--that Waddell and company were curiously courteous to customs and social institutions early on--appears overdrawn.¹ At the same time this excerpt counters Nair's notions that the missionaries were too busy for in-depth encounters with Calabar religious and social beliefs.² Such statements by Waddell also serve to qualify Okon's line of thought, that most if not all mission preaching in Calabar denigrated culture and undermined status quo.³ Finally, this quotation clearly poses as an anomaly for Okafor's position that the goal of mission preaching in the region was to vigorously undermine and replace local culture with Western "christianities".⁴ As can be seen, the attitudes and actions of Calabar preachers on the ground may well be more complicated and contradictory than many of the simplistically drawn stereotypes of "mission preaching" would suggest.

The presentation of the Bible to Eyo by Waddell and Samuel Edgerly occurred on Tuesday, 21 April 1846, and was recorded at greater length than earlier interviews with Eyamba. The meeting represented the first official Christian public address in Creek Town. It included a homily on "the value and divine authority of that blessed book, as the reason why it had been sent rather than anything else."⁵ Waddell took the book in his hand and addressed the company:

¹ Nair (1977:259). It is true that Waddell viewed the "idolatry" of Ekpongyong as merely something to be dispised for rudeness, rather than evil--drawing comparison with various images in Britain. See Nair, loc.cit., citing Waddell's journal MSS 7739:56, 18 May, 1846.

² Ibid.

³ Okon (1988:52).

⁴ Okafor (1981:31, and 34).

⁵ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.1, (1846:139).

They [in Scotland] knew that you are rich and needed not a gift of money. But they knew that the Bible, the word of the great God who made heaven and earth, and all things,... was not yet among you, and they heard that you wished for it, and they sent it as the best thing they could send to show their regard for you.¹

The opening of this address clearly shows Waddell's genius for propaganda. It also makes allusion to the scriptural truth of the God who made all things, in the Pauline sense of addressing from the start the God who has been revealed to the people from the light of natural revelation. Indeed, Waddell had learned earlier in the week from Eyo and others, that this foundation of Efik belief in the Creator could be the point on which further preaching appeal could be based, since it was agreed that all parties shared such a theological view. Here, Waddell is putting into practice his earlier stated principle that "It seems to me unnecessary to prove to these people that there is a God who made all things."²

Waddell then proceeded to launch into a piece of rhetoric, fully reflecting his and the Calabar mission's belief that the superiority of Christian Britain rests on the adherence of its leaders to God's revelation in the Bible manners:

God who made and keeps us, commands all kings to read it, and to govern by it, and to make it known among their people; and he has promised to bless and prosper all those who do so. The Kings and Queens of England swear by it... promise to govern by it, and almost every house

¹ Waddell (MSS:7739:34), as the primary rendering of the portions of the text not included in U.P.C.M.R., Vol. 1, (1846:139).

² Waddell (MSS 7739:33).

in our country has it, and it is read and obeyed in our country more than in any country, therefore our country is great and flourishing.... If any king or country receive and obey this word, God will bless and prosper that king or country. But if any king or country refuse this when it comes to them, God will curse that king and country...¹

Waddell was here attempting to create the most favourable attitude towards the Bible, by holding out the promise of various blessings to those who obeyed its instructions. In his conclusion, Waddell stated "the precious truths of salvation by Christ the Son of God, the resurrection of the dead and eternal life."² By preceding such New Testament theological themes with truths couched in terms favourable to Eyo, Waddell employed precisely the formula he had earlier decided to adopt: thinking it necessary only "to declare His [God's] character and will, and His redeeming love in Christ Jesus", once it had been discovered that the people assented to the notion of a Creator God.

The months following these initial encounters were busy with preparations for building and occupying the mission houses on the mainland. Indeed, from the viewpoint of King Eyo, the missionaries were not active enough in preaching during these early days. As Aye maintains, Eyo wanted church meetings every Sunday, but this was deemed not possible because Waddell's team would preach to the crews on board the ships in the area; Eyo argued that they "were missionaries to Calabar people, and that the white people had books, and less needed" the mission teaching.³ The comment was driven by Eyo's hopes to increase

¹ Waddell, op.cit., 34; U.P.C.M.R., loc.cit.

² U.P.C.M.R., loc.cit.

³ Aye (1987:51).

education to promote trade in his region. Yet, it is ironic that the evangelist Waddell--often criticized by later commentators as militant and aggressive in his evangelistic thrust--had to be prompted by the initiative of the King to engage in regular cross-cultural preaching. That the initiative for regular Sabbath preaching to Efik lay in some measure with Eyo, dispels the notion--held by Okafor--that the mission evangelism was arrogant and militant, eager to force itself on unwilling congregations.¹ Clearly, evangelism could not proceed without complicity on the part of both parties--committed to significant interaction involving a marked degree of respect.

Once the mission house in Duke Town was completed in June, the way was clear for more concerted public evangelism.² On 26 July 1846 the first sermon was preached in King Eyo's yard at Creek Town, with the king himself acting as interpreter.³ It was a landmark day for the Gospel in Calabar, as well as a time of learning how to mission preach with an Efik interpreter. After the principal gentlemen, or free-men, had arrived, the meeting commenced with the reading of the ninety-fifth and ninety-sixth Psalm, and then Waddell began to present his address in small paragraphs.⁴ He was quickly interrupted by Eyo who charged Waddell to speak in shorter segments, lest he forget some of the material during translation.⁵ Waddell took up Eyo's request as sensible, despite the fact that such a call for brevity of speech

¹ Okafor (1981:31).

² Christie (MSS:11).

³ Ibid.

⁴ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2, (1847:27).

⁵ Ibid.

and thought certainly chafed his rather expansive manner of discourse.¹ Waddell reflected on the type of preaching required in this context:

This mode of preaching is not pleasant, especially when the interpreter, though he may know both languages, has no previous knowledge of the subject. Still more unpleasant is it when his acquaintance with the language spoken is so limited that the simplest ideas, on such a new subject, and the simplest mode of expressing them, are both absolutely necessary. Though the treasure of divine truth is thus presented in a miserably weak earthen vessel, the Lord is able to display his power the more in bringing it home to the minds and consciences of his hearers.²

Waddell clearly recognized that a substantial barrier to successful mission communication existed between himself and Eyo, laying aside for the moment the difficulty of Eyo rendering Waddell's strange new theological concepts into Efik. Yet, having said that, Waddell began with some very elementary and concrete concepts from God's Law--the Ten Commandments, which greatly increased the possibility of his hearers actually taking the message home with them in their minds and consciences:

On this first occasion, I had of course, to begin at the beginning. I spoke of the great God who made all things, the creation of this world, its sinfulness, and his displeasure with it. I then read, and briefly explained the ten commandments, the king interpreting them for men one by one. Some of them took his attention much, and his mode of explaining them attracted mine. On the first three he was very short, and seemed as if he had some difficulty what to say.... On the second he was more full and at ease, being himself no idolater... On the fourth he was more full and more at ease, and pointed out the difference

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

between God's Sunday on the seventh day, and Calabar Sunday on the eighth day....for himself he was willing to give up Calabar and keep God's Sunday instead, but thought it would be some time before the people were prepared for the change. The fifth he explained with freedom and energy, ...and he said was very good. On the sixth I had been pretty full, as it is ruthlessly violated in this land. He, on the contrary, was short, and spoke in subdued tone...[it] obviously touched sore places. On the seventh he was strong and decided. I explained this command, at this time, only in its primary sense of conjugal fidelity, without touching on the question of polygamy....He explained or interpreted it in a very decided tone; and then turning to me said, 'That be very good.'...He has a number of wives himself, but respects the rights and relations of others. The eighth commandment caused a burst of laughter from the audience...there laughter seemed to say, 'we know that, but no one regards it.'...People here are generally bare-faced thieves....The ninth commandment was admitted in its most obvious sense; but there was some demur about the untruths or deceptions necessary to carry on trade, as not generally regarded in the sense of lies. The tenth was not recognized in its importance. How seldom is it? Having gone over them all, I gave the sum of them as love to God, and love to man, and stated that they were universally broken, as themselves knew very well, and that God was offended thereby.¹

We see that clearly Waddell took his point of departure as the creation by God, which he had discerned earlier was acknowledged by the Efik. Once into the commandments, which centre around tangible behaviour patterns, the communication process appeared to go smoothly. Noting Eyo's loquaciousness as an indicator of approval, Waddell learned that local Efik religious and cultural views had little difficulty with the commandments on honouring father and mother, and not committing

¹ Waddell (1863:275-6); ^{CF}U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2, (1847:27-8).

adultery. However, the bulk of Efik communal behaviour was certainly at variance with such commandments prohibiting the making of idols, resting on the Calabar Sunday (eighth day), murder, stealing, and worshipping other gods.

By summarizing the commandments as Christ did in terms of love to God and neighbour, Waddell made a smooth transition from the negative prohibitions under God's Law to the positive provision of the Gospel of grace:

So much for the law. I proceeded to the gospel; told about Jesus Christ the Son of God; what he came into the world to do for us, and the miracles he wrought to prove that he came from God. The account of these miracles took Eyo's attention very much; particularly the feeding of thousands by a basket of bread, the raising of Lazarus from the dead, and the resurrection of Christ Jesus himself. The general resurrection at last raised his astonishment to the highest pitch. 'All them old people that dead long time,' he cried, 'will they all live again? Them old bones that lie rotting on the ground, will they live again?'...When I stated that the Son of God would come again to judge the world, he was fairly startled. During the latter part of my address, the people were very attentive and solemn....When I had done, King Eyo said, 'This be very good meeting. I like we have it every Sunday.'¹

With those words the first public preaching at Calabar ended, but it was only the beginning of regular sabbath proclamations. Both Waddell and Eyo were ostensibly satisfied with the proceedings, notwithstanding Waddell's admission that "strange things have reached the ears of these people today, for the first time."

1.4.2 Preaching for Social Change within the Context of Spiritual Conversion

¹ U.P.C.M.R., loc.cit.

If the people of Creek Town heard "strange things" in Waddell's first sermon, then Waddell's calls for social change which commenced in his second and third sermons, must have been stranger still. It did not take long for Waddell to discover what he considered to be dysfunctions within Calabar society. Soon the theological material in his sermons was employed in such a way as to not only urge personal conversion, but to challenge the evil of customs the mission regarded as foolishness at best, and evil at worst.¹ As Elizabeth Hewat has rightly argued, the Calabar mission's main purpose was certainly to bring the message of Christ to the people of Calabar, but until a number of practices were ameliorated, widespread adherence to that message would be almost impossible.² Denunciations of various religious customs and the social arrangements that gave rise to them, quickly became a staple of Waddell's preaching, contrary to one commentator--Nair.³ As we shall see in later chapters, these denunciations were often accompanied by positive theological assertions of the way forward for the Efik: the capitulation to the message of Christianity and the example of the life of faith on offer from the mission.⁴ We can see the emergence of this type of preaching once Waddell had concentrated on the goodness of the Creator God, his accessibility through prayer, their need to trust in Him, and the rudiments of the life of Christ. Therefore, it is clear that evangelical preaching which defined the character and will of

¹ Hewat (1960:194,197).

² Ibid., 197.

³ Nair (1977:244).

⁴ Ibid., 198.

God in relation to individuals was presented before--and indeed at every phase concurrently with--the type of preaching Geoffrey Johnston calls "prophetic".¹ Personal salvation was preached in relation to a monotheistic deity, qualifying Johnston's position that the Calabar preaching concentrated primarily on the here and now.²

To be sure, the concrete application of biblical teaching to Calabar society required a prophetic challenge from the pioneers at every phase. This was never any truer than in the early pioneer period from 1846-1858. In his second sermon at Creek Town on 2 August 1846, Waddell clearly began what was to become an ongoing dialogue with the religious beliefs and social institutions in Calabar; these he believed needed destruction, in order to secure the kind of environment upon which a Christian community could be constructed:³

I spoke first of the nature and character of God, his wisdom, his goodness, ...and the duty of all men to know and trust in him. ...When speaking of our duty to pray to him ...I alluded to their jujus, their sacred things, or charms, or fetishes, or whatever other name they may be known by....'In every corner of your yards you heap up these things, which are only fit to be buried, and you think they can do you good, and keep away harm. How can a skull help or save you? Can a dead man do more than a living man? Will the living cry to the dead to help them? I think dead men can do nothing....You kill a beast and eat it, and then take its bones to keep evil from your house. It could not help itself, how can it help you? But the king has no juju; I look all through his yard and see none. Ah, he is a wise man. He saby something more than all Calabar. He do not trust in them fool fool thing. Trust in the living God, who made you

¹ Johnston (1988:6-7).

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.; U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2, (1847:28).

and keeps you every day, and can save you from all harm. He is both able and willing to save all who look to him and call on him, both in this life and for ever. He loved us and gave his Son for us, and Jesus Christ died and rose again and went to heaven, and ever lives to save all who trust in him.'

...Next I spoke pointedly on the horrid practice of killing slaves when the great men or women die, and assured them that God would bring these murders into judgement....If not done away yet, the sooner you leave it off the better. The king immediately spoke out plainly on the subject--'That be very bad fashion,' said he to me, 'but it no knock off altogether yet..I don't like it, and try for stop it, and they oblige to go into the bush and hide it now...I want to stop the killing for the dead altogether, and make the people give cloth... instead. But as long as those old gentlemen and gentlewoman are alive, it can't be quite break off. By and by it will. When all them young children begin for saby book, they will know better.'...I concluded my address by showing the grand remedy for all these dreadful evils, the grace of God in Christ, who came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, both in this life and the life to come. This was the object I had in view in all I spoke, and to which all tended.¹

Here is a classic example of how, despite Waddell's denunciations of social dysfunction, his preaching remained directed squarely at personal conversion to Christ. The rudiments of the significance of Jesus for salvation are given here as the positive way forward out of religious error. Evidence such as this, begins to render W.H. Taylor's assertions that the Calabar missionaries "were never obsessed with evangelism",² and "conversion to Presbyterianism was always less important...than education",³ quite untenable. It is therefore, fair to say that despite the strong

¹ U.P.C.M.R., loc.cit.;^{cf.} Waddell (1863:277-278).

² Taylor (1980:ii).

³ Ibid.

prophetic element stressing the Efik religious and cultural bankruptcy, the themes of personal and community salvation were not eclipsed in Waddell's earliest pioneer preaching. Indeed, as Waddell himself pointed out, salvation in Christ "was the object I had in view in all I spoke, and to which all tended."¹ This would be a common proclamation pattern throughout Waddell's career, and indeed, the career of many other Calabar missionaries.

Another example of how Waddell's pioneer preaching addressed social change within the context of spiritual conversion to Christ, and never at the expense of it, can be discovered in the third sermon at Creek Town. On 9 August, with Eyo again interpreting as became his custom, Waddell was critical of other Calabar beliefs and customs he felt were destructive and inconsistent with the scriptural message of Christianity:

Though I did not, either now or on previous occasions, take what is called a text, or preach what is called a sermon, I had some distinct portion of divine truth in view, giving it a practical bearing on some of the prevailing barbarous customs of the country. Today I made known the Lord Jesus Christ more fully and particularly than before, showing the state of mankind as sinful, and under a curse, the work of Jesus Christ to remove both the sin and the curse, by his teaching, his death, resurrection, and ascension, and continual intercession; as also, his coming again to judge the world. The destruction of the present sinful world by fires, and the renewing of it in righteousness, when all who lived godly in Christ Jesus would be saved, seemed to have a solemn effect on the minds of the audience, as Eyo was speaking after me. When pointing out some of the blessings we have by Christ Jesus, I went at some length into the subject of witchcraft, which holds people in continual terror, and causes very many people to be

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2., (1847:29).

put to death...The Calabar name for witchcraft or sorcery is Ufod. Speaking to white people, the natives term it 'freemason in the belly.' How this name came to be applied to it I know not, nor need I inquire at present...A person suspected is made in Calabar phrase, 'to chop nut,' that is to drink a poison nut, mixed with water...Believing that the Gospel of Christ cordially received is an effectual remedy for it, I felt it my duty to publicly declare its efficacy in that way...This I could do in all truth, by assuring them that whoever was enlightened by the word of god, and believed in the Son of God, as the Saviour of men, could never be hurt by 'freemason in the belly.'...For my own part, I said, I did not care if a thousand people had 'freemason in their belly' against me, they could do me no harm. I would not make one of them chop nut for it....'The son of God keeps me from all that bad thing. He won't let the devil hurt me in that way. And he will keep you, too, if you believe in him, and pray to him, so that no man can have "freemason in his belly" against you to harm you.'¹

This was a significant sermon for Waddell, for in it he exhibited the ministry of Jesus Christ more in relation to the individual than previously. He attempted to show Christ's power and sovereignty in a practical way, through applying the message of redemption to include safety from "Ufod" (*Ifot*). From Waddell's memoirs we learn that the theological message of Christ delivered that day was not assimilated, although the illustrative discussion on "Ufod" clearly struck a chord with the audience:

...I exhibited the Lord Jesus Christ and his great salvation. My interpreter and the audience still more seemed unable to appreciate, or even understand, the spiritual blessings with which believers are blessed in him. The very idea of their having sinned against God was new and not received. They had no word for sin, only 'bad thing.' And to do a bad thing to God was

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2., (1847:29-30).

in their minds the same as to do it to man, to inflict injury on him. That they had never done. This want of a sense of sin lay in the way of our preaching the salvation of Christ Jesus. It is a great obstacle in most heathen countries, and the years spent by missionaries in preaching the law, are all necessary to enable the darkened mind to understand the gospel....

On one point they did understand. Christ came to destroy the works of the devil, and witchcraft is one of the works of the devil. Though they had no idea of the devil in the scriptural sense, they stood in mortal terror of that secret supernatural power, or pretence of power.¹

This sermon was the catalyst that prompted Waddell to preach on the Law and ethical duty to convince the Efik of their state before God. So this approach--along with corresponding calls for social change--became the mission's first order of preaching emphasis. For King Eyo himself, speaking about the heavy doctrinal preaching on the revelation of God through Jesus Christ, had made it quite clear to Waddell that, "Calabar people no fit to saby all that--tell them about the fashions what God tells us to do or not to do."² Because of Eyo's comments, from now until the latter part of 1851, the mission preached for social change by emphasizing the character of God and His ethical demands for mankind. This evidence, along with analysis we shall provide in later chapters, indicates that "the burden of evidence" Nair has cited to support his contention that in 1851 the strategy of mission preaching changed from denouncing custom to overhauling social structures, is not sufficiently heavy to carry his point.³ Calls for social change had necessarily preceded 1851. That year was mistakenly seen as the

¹ Waddell (1863:278-279).

² Ajayi (1965:101).

³ Nair (1977:276).

beginning of the mission's drive to overhaul social institutions, merely because the fruit of earlier efforts began to appear from 1851 in the form of legislation which mandated social reform.

It was Eyo's early prompting that challenged the mission to concentrate upon cultural and social change by applying their reading of the Christian cosmology and its ethical demands to the situation in Calabar; this also contradicts Nair's assertion that Waddell's "journals are proof not of Eyo's complicity with the mission program, but rather demonstrate his persistent rejection of the social programs that the missionaries desired to effect in Calabar."¹ The reform program clearly received at least tacit assent from Eyo, and at times, was done at his initiative, enjoying his active support. So preaching for social reform was clearly undertaken to secure an environment in which later teaching could bring the message of Christ's redemptive plan to a people prepared to receive it.² However, at no time did teaching on the history and significance of Jesus Christ's ministry for personal salvation entirely cease. Let us then, follow some significant preaching strands on various social issues which proceeded out from this early series of sermons, and continued throughout the pioneer period until 1858.

1.4.3 The Campaign Against Human Sacrifice

Not long after the mission's arrival, on 18 October 1846, a

¹ Nair (1977:276).

² Nair concedes that this was the mission's view: "The missionaries felt that to achieve success in preaching the Gospel they had not only to work towards exercising political pressure for reform but also change the basis of the Efik social structure." Ibid.

massacre of a large number of slaves occurred following the death of John Duke, the last of Duke Ephraim's sovereign family in Duke Town.¹ Waddell had arranged with Eyamba to come and preach at his yard on that Sunday, but upon arriving Eyamba tried to stop the meeting on the account of the death.² Waddell responded saying, "suppose a man be dead, that must not hinder the Word of God", and he proceeded to the subject of human sacrifices for the dead.³ After strongly urging Eyamba to make a law against killing for the dead, which Eyamba was quite unable to do for the whole Calabar area, Waddell vigorously denounced the killings to the company assembled:

King Eyamba and gentlemen of Duke Town...
if it be so that you have begun already to
kill your slaves for John Duke, I declare
to you before God, your God and mine, that
great God of heaven and earth, that you
have done a great crime...and these poor
slaves will rise up in judgment against
you at the last day. You and they will
stand before God, and they will witness
against you....King Eyamba...what will you
have to answer for all this when God judges
you? I protest before God against your
carrying on this horrid system of murder
any longer. It is contrary to the laws both
of God and man.⁴

It is interesting to note that Waddell did not make a distinction between Jehovah and the high God of the Efik--Abasi. He made his appeal to the same God as the Efik acknowledged, although he found it necessary to impute certain ethical traits to God which were perhaps not recognized by the Efik: such as His

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2, (1847:56-57); Christie (MSS:11).

² U.P.C.M.R., loc.cit.

³ Ibid., 57.

⁴ Ibid.

willingness to avenge injustice and violations of His commandments with judgment. Yet Efik views of God's ethical demands were such that Waddell felt it was expedient to seek a further source of common authority upon which to base his appeal for change. Towards this end, he shifted the focus of his oratory on to the subject of curses and financial prosperity, as well as eternal judgment:

'You want your country to come up for great country same as white man's country; but it cannot, while life is not safe among you. If life be not safe, nothing is safe. If the poorest slave be not protected by your laws, your country can never prosper; the curse of God will rest on it. He has said, "At the hand of every man will I require the blood of man; and whoever shed's man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed"....In the name of the great God who will raise the dead and judge us all at the last day....remember that there is a place of dreadful punishment for the wicked, where the fire of God's wrath burns forever....Knock off this horrid fashion of yours, and turn away from all your sins, that he may bless and not destroy you. It is in his mercy and goodness that he has sent us here to warn and teach you that you might be saved, and not perish'....I tried to sing part of a psalm, and then continued my discourse about the times past of their ignorance, and God's patience, and how he now commands all men to repent, and to believe in his Son, Christ Jesus.¹

Again, amidst threats of divine judgment and financial ruin, Waddell's presentation echoed Pauline mission preaching themes from Acts 17:30, concerning how God has overlooked the times of ignorance and now commands all men to repent and believe in His Son, Christ Jesus. Also it is clear from this example of "prophetic" preaching, that Waddell remained steadfastly intent on

¹ Ibid., 57-58; Cf. Waddell (1863:293-294).

presenting a positive declaration of salvation by individual choice--concurrently with social denunciations. Such evidence further leaves Johnston's position that the Calabar teaching tradition primarily dealt with "the here and now" at the expense of exposition of God's character and redemptive purposes, even more questionable. It also further erodes the grounds upon which Taylor could assert that the Calabar missionaries were not concerned with conversion.¹ For although the message of the Bible was applied to areas of social dysfunction in this pioneer period, it was done with a view to make the abstract theological truths more concrete, and thus, easier to act on. Finally, material such as this further erodes Nair's view--that before 1851, only attacks on ideology were predominant in the mission proclamation.²

From Waddell's memoir however, we can discern that the response from Eyamba and his free-men was decidedly lukewarm. Although Eyamba knew the fashion was not good, and was evidently shaken by the various solemn appeals in Waddell's address, nonetheless some of his men were heard to mutter audible disapproval.³ The only concession Eyamba could grant, was that

¹ Taylor asserted that "Preaching to the Efik was important, but giving the Efik personal access to the world on which preaching was based was more important." Taylor (1983:226). Yet neither Marwick nor Goldie--the mission's historians in the period--offer detailed accounts of how access to this word through education was actually achieved through education; references to what and how the evangelists should preach, nevertheless abound. Taylor, curiously enough, cites and concedes this point against himself. See Taylor (1983:224). The primacy of preaching as "the first department" over the education enterprise was asserted by Goldie himself in an article in U.P.C.M.R., Vol.5, (1850:90-91).

² See Nair (1977:244).

³ Ibid.; See also Waddell (1863:294).

next year after Waddell and the missionaries returned from their hiatus to escape the "smokes", he would convene the gentlemen of Calabar to see what could be done on the matter.¹ However, the sermon failed in its immediate objective, which was to prevent the killing of one hundred slaves on that day.² The day had not yet come when the teaching of the mission would induce the rulers of Creek and Duke Town to "knock off Calabar fashion".

Indeed, after the death of King Eyamba himself on 14 May 1847, similar examples of slave sacrifice commenced on a wide scale.³ The death happened during Waddell's absence, with William Jameson occupying Creek Town after his arrival at Calabar on 21 January, and Samuel Edgerly, Sr. managing the affairs of the mission at Duke Town for most of the year.⁴ The news of the deaths began to filter in to Jameson, and he proceeded to the yards of the king and the queen to ascertain the situation for himself.⁵ Chancing upon Archibong Duke, the king's son-in-law, Hogan Bassey, and one other, Jameson confronted them to know the truth; it was confirmed that thirty of the king's one hundred wives were being put to death, and little could be effected by way of intervention.⁶ On the Sabbath after the King's death, while associated killings were still proceeding, Jameson took the opportunity of preaching on Luke 20.27-39, in order to address the killings from the point of view of marriage and the resurrection of the dead:

¹ Ibid.; See also Waddell, loc.cit.

² Ibid.

³ Christie (MSS:13).

⁴ Christie (MSS:13); Waddell (1863:338)

⁵ U.P.C.M.R., Vol. 2, (1847:185).

⁶ Ibid.

Before I got time to allude to the sacrifices, the king, discovering the appropriateness of the passage for remarking on this subject, requested me to do so....I proceeded to state the great truth which Christ here teaches us is, that in the world to come there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage....For where there is no death to diminish the number of its peoples, there is no appointment of marriage like to this world's fashion. The king [Eyo] appeared astounded...., 'No! no marriage!' 'True,' I replied, 'Christ says so; and Christ is the king of the world, and must know all its fashions'....I then proceeded... 'that if marriage be not in the place we go at death, there is no use of killing a man's wives when he dies, and sending them after him, to make chop for him, and look after him. For if all be bad, they will go to hell together, where they can be of no service to one another; for there they are prisoners, reserved in chains under darkness till the judgment of the great day. And, if they go to heaven, there will be no use of such service there; for Christ himself will supply all there wants....Neither,' I again remarked, 'is it any use; for if the master be wicked, and his wife good, at death the two will take different roads,--the one will go to hell, and the other go to heaven; and betwixt these two states there is a great gulf'...Here I read an account of the rich man and Lazarus. 'For the same reasons,' I remarked, 'it was folly to kill so many of Eyamba's poor slaves,-- that he may have plenty to paddle his canoe and another to hold his umbrella under his head. No need of umbrellas in that world. For in hell there is no sun to illuminate the everlasting blackness and darkness; and in heaven, Christ says, "that the sun shall not light upon his people, nor any heat."' [In reply to Eyo's comment that upon his death he would give ninety five coppers to his son, and keep five for himself to show his wealth]... I thought enough had been said for the present; and if by God's blessing, we can stop the effusion of human blood, the stopping of the burying of the cloth and the coppers will soon follow. "I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now."¹

Jameson's sermon was a remarkable early piece of preaching

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.3, (1848:39-40).

which assumed some of the logic of local Efik belief. It met such logic with theological themes that instructively pointed a better way forward to living in society--in light of fresh revelation. The sermon certainly made no compromises on evangelical orthodoxy, nor did it attempt to hide the fate that awaited those who rejected Christ Jesus. Jameson exhibited the common Calabar missionary preaching approach of preaching communal social change with a view towards individual spiritual conversion.

On the other hand, Jameson's sermon demonstrated a quality unique to him at this point. His sermon represented a constructive attempt to provide reasons why killing the king's wives for companionship and prestige in the afterlife was inconsistent with the scripture. Furthermore, Jameson showed signs of attempting to use the logic of the local religion to anticipate which scriptural arguments would most satisfactorily reveal the inappropriate nature of killing slaves at the death of a great man. We can also see in Jameson's words rudimentary attempts at employing speech patterns and illustrations familiar to the local people. Lastly, Jameson deferred criticism of other burial customs, such as burying silks or coppers for another day, allowing the need for taking such changes in stages. He saw the practicality of using these harmless alternatives to provide functional equivalents for what the mission was denouncing. Thereby, the cultural need for status to be recognized in the afterlife was not altogether rejected. Indeed, it was preserved until subsequent teaching could demonstrate the status of all redeemed individuals before Christ as the sons and daughters of God.

Jameson's mode of evangelism, deriving by his own admission at this time largely from Winslow's *Christ the Theme of the Missionary*, was significant.¹ For Jameson's preaching decidedly undercuts Okafor's position that only militant, monological preaching occurred in Southeastern Nigeria during the pioneer missionary periods.² Here and elsewhere, Jameson saw the need to allow initiative for a sermon to arise out of the situation of the moment.³ Jameson wrote in his diary, "to preach Jesus where his name is not known...patience, caution, and wisdom, combined with tact and kindly firmness, will under God, break down this barrier."⁴ Furthermore Jameson's views and methods demonstrate that preaching was not always done with the intent to uproot and lambast culture;⁵ but in this case and others preaching could present a message locals were obliged to choose only upon their own initiative and for their own benefit:

Our present work is to spread far and wide, among old and young, by teaching and preaching, the knowledge of the Christian religion--the best bulwark of nations, as well as the source of man's best hope for time and eternity. As we proceed, under the power of the Spirit of God, the minds of the people will be gradually enlightened; they will become disgusted at their former ignorance and superstition; and all classes will consent to remove the unseemly structure structure of former ages...⁶

Jameson's approach certainly was not without effect, for King Eyo remarked at the end of the sermon that he wished these fashions to be put down; "When I die," he said, "I will

¹ Robb (1861:257).

² Okafor (1981:31 and 34).

³ Robb, op.cit., 285.

⁴ Ibid., 271.

⁵ See the views along these lines according to Nair (1977:262), Okon (1988:52), and Okafor (1981:31 and 34).

⁶ Robb, op.cit., 273.

allow no man to be killed. I will take plenty of cloth and coppers with me."¹ Indeed, this was the case on 26 November 1854, when upon the death of the progressive king of Calabar, King Eyo II, no slaves or wives were seized. A precedent for the passing of kings was clearly established. Unfortunately, the promising career of William Jameson, potentially a most effective missionary preacher, was to be cut short even sooner. The sermon above represented his penultimate proclamation on record, before he himself passed away on 5 August 1847.²

After Jameson's death, the Rev. William Anderson arrived in Calabar on 12 February 1849, and occupied the Duke Town mission.³ His presence there allowed Hugh Goldie to move over to Creek Town to maintain it during one of Waddell's absences in Scotland to create interest in the mission.⁴ By now the mission had come under the authority of the Foreign Mission Committee of the United Presbyterian Church formed in the merger of the Secession and Relief Churches.⁵ So after Waddell's return, the need to promote the mission meant that all parties were keen to watch for any signs that the campaign against human sacrifice had been successful.⁶ The killing of slaves unfortunately for the mission, reappeared all too soon.

On 5 February 1850, two Duke Town chiefs, Effiong Bassey and Erem Cuffy, died, accompanied by the customary but now

¹ U.P.C.M.R., loc.cit.

² Christie, op.cit., 13.

³ Dickie (1894:36); Christie (MSS:15).

⁴ Dickie, loc.cit.

⁵ The merger had occurred earlier on 13 May, 1847. Christie (MSS:13).

⁶ Dickie (1894:37).

more secretive executions of slaves.¹ While Waddell was in Bonny preaching there the first principles of religion,² William Anderson called upon King Archibong, Eyamba's successor. He confronted him with various intelligence that had reached him about the death of seven of Bassey's slaves and one of his wives.³ Getting no satisfaction from Archibong, Anderson put his inquiries to Mr. Young, a Duke Town gentleman who was used frequently as an interpreter of the gospel in his own yard:

I went on to remind him of much that the Bible says, which shows the value, the sacredness of human life.⁴

The biblical appeal to the sacredness of human life, the mission's standard preaching approach against slave sacrifice,⁵ was beginning to have its initial effect as demonstrated by Mr. Young's reply:

If God spare me, two years don't pass before this bad fashion break off; but we can't do things all in a day.⁶

During this initial period, the indigenous response to preaching on social reform was usually a mild form of Mr. Young's measured type of procrastination. However, the agenda for social change was about to be pushed forward. It was done not only by the cumulative teaching of Anderson, Goldie, Edgerly, and Waddell, but by Anderson's initiative in forming an association of Europeans strongly opposed to the continuation of

¹ Ibid.

² Waddell (MSS 7739:69).

³ Dickie, loc.cit.; Marwick (1897:231-232).

⁴ Dickie, loc.cit.; Marwick, op.cit., 233.

⁵ See another of Waddell's preaching attempts to Adam Duke on 16 June, 1846, which characteristically stresses the lives of all men are sacred to God. U.P.C.M.R., Vol.1, (1846:187).

⁶ Dickie, op.cit., 38; Marwick, loc.cit.

slave sacrifice. This society would be prepared to put the kind of pressure to which the Efik were likely to respond at this stage: economic.

Not satisfied with merely intimidating smaller chiefs of the various houses, or segments of lineage in the Calabar towns, Anderson took his displeasure to the European trading captains on the River. He lobbied them to put pressure on all the kings of Calabar for the passing of a law against all such human sacrifices.¹ His journal for 6 February 1850 recounted:

Having said all I could think of to the natives last evening--as I have done in preaching and in conversation at former times--I took the round of the ships to-day, rehearsing to each captain the occurrences of yesterday [killing of slaves] and closing with the question, 'Can we do conjunctly nothing to prevent the recurrence of such deeds of blood.'²

Following upon Anderson's lobbying, the captains agreed to meet King Archibong and his chiefs in the church "palaver-house"--which had formerly been the place where important matters affecting the community were discussed and determined.³ It was a natural place for setting the course of Calabar communal change. On 7 February 1850, Anderson, Edgerly, ten captains, and three ship's surgeons met with Archibong's company in Duke Town and proceeded swiftly to denounce the murders committed for the burial recently of the dead chiefs.⁴ Under considerable threat of jeopardizing trading relations with the Europeans upon refusal, Archibong acquiesced in the proposals; he responded that if Creek Town

¹ Dickie, *op.cit.*, 38; Marwick, *op.cit.*, 233.

² Dickie, *loc.cit.*; Marwick, *loc.cit.*

³ Dickie, *op.cit.*, 38; Marwick, *op.cit.*, 233.

⁴ *Ibid.*; Marwick, *op.cit.*, 234.

would co-operate in the matter, an Ekpe law should be made abolishing slave sacrifice.¹ The following day, 8 February 1850, the Europeans banded together to form "The Society for the Abolition of Human Sacrifices in Old Calabar", and presented similar proposals to King Eyo in Creek Town, which met with corresponding approval.² After Archibong and Eyo had opportunity to conference together and sign a law against the ritual killings to satisfy the Europeans, they soon thereafter issued an Ekpe law prohibiting the sacrifice of human life upon the death of any individual of any station or rank.³

Although the initiative for the suppression of human sacrifice flowed from the mission and its teaching, one of the most effective "sermons" preached on the subject was by an Efik, Chief Cameroons. Even after the enactment of the Ekpe law, some of the leading Calabar men remained unimpressed with the prohibition, and claimed that the law should not be enacted until certain of their parents died off.⁴ Eyo countered that logic by stating that these old people should have died sooner before the world changed, and reminded them that if they did not like this new "fashion", they could well see a man-of-war up their river.⁵ Unmoved by such reasoning, Cameroons suggested to the dissatisfied men that since the law would be enacted within the

¹ McKerrow (1867:391)

² Christie, *op.cit.*, 19; McKerrow, *loc.cit.*; Later in the year the society's name and portfolio was broadened to "The Society for the Abolition of Inhuman and Superstitious Customs in Old Calabar".

³ Christie, *loc.cit.*; McKerrow, *op.cit.*, 391-392.

⁴ Dickie, *op.cit.*, 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*

week, they should not talk so much, but hurry home and kill their revered parents so they could enjoy the traditional burial.¹ The chiefs were understandably shocked by the suggestion, to which Cameroons made his wry reply, "Oh, very good, if you don't like to kill your own parents, why do you wish to kill those of others?"² Cameroons had drawn in his opponents, exposing the inconsistency and injustice of their views on traditional burial; a prime example of an eloquent and subtle initiative from Efik leadership, acting independently for effective social change. Such initiatives reveal that the mission's preaching was having its first considerable impact among Efik leaders on issues related to social change--despite resistance to the theological message offered in this period.

With these proceedings, the Calabar mission had registered their first significant victory for social change. Although enforcement would remain a problem outside the urban areas, the urban Efik had been exposed considerably to the mission teaching; coupled with the authority of the Ekpe law, sufficient restraints were now in place to prevent wide scale sacrifice in the urban areas from ever happening again.³ Moreover, William Marwick himself chiefly attributed the conditions making the law possible

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Dickie, op.cit., 39; McKerrow, op.cit., 392. Human sacrifice did occur after 1850; indeed it formed the *causus belli* of the Old Town bombardment in 1855, despite considerable but uncounatenanced opposition by the mission to the affair, as Ajayi has claimed (1965:119). However, this incident, as well as others mentioned by Taylor (1980:125,231) in 1903, occurred outside Creek and Duke Town, in areas under the influence of Christian teaching in a much more irregular fashion.

to the consistent teaching and preaching of Anderson, Edgerly, and Goldie from 1848-1850.¹ It is clear that the social and political change in Calabar throughout the first decade of the mission was the fruit of a combination of cooperation from the secret Ekpe society and mission initiatives such as the S.A.I.S.C.² As early as 1846 Ekpe contributed to a cultural change concession--terminating the burial of bodies in the bush.³ While the underlying cause of social change during the period was the compliance of Ekpe, clearly, a triggering cause of reform was the mission teaching; for prior to its appearance, the Ekpe had not embarked on any of these reforms. The fact that Eyo and Ekpe accepted change in 1850 while resisting it earlier, was no doubt in part due to a perception that their self-interests against armed slave revolts were being served.⁴ Yet, the fact that these uprisings occurred in 1850-1851 and not 1846, and the community's self-interest was also beginning to be perceived

¹ Marwick, op.cit., 241.

² Taylor (1980:126); "The Society for the Abolition of Ihhuman and Superstitious Customs in Old Calabar".

³ See Nair (1977:259) and Waddell (1863:254). According to Nair, Eyamba did not regard these burials as a ritual disposal, so the change did nothing to upset tradition.

⁴ Nair (1977:270-271) argues that due to the rise of the Nka, "the blood-men", both Eyo and Ekpe saw the need for stability in the region to continue their trading and political interests, and could only get that stability by granting concessions to the Nka which would guarantee them protection from substitutionary punishment. But this argument assumes that the "blood-men" had been operating for a while before 1851--since 1847--prompting their threat to have been taken seriously by Eyo and Ekpe. However, Okon (1988:54) following Jones (1956:149) maintains that the Nka did not rise until 1850-1851, so it is unlikely that Eyo and Ekpe regarded them as such a threat so soon upon their emergence as to grant sweeping legislative changes on these grounds alone.

around this time as being best served by the mission agenda, was no doubt due in part to mission teaching and demands--as Okon suggests.¹

Further evidence that mission teaching was having its own independent effect on Calabar society, and, indeed, bypassing the authority of the Ekpe, is the steady deterioration of Waddell's respect for Ekpe from May to June 1852.² Nonetheless reform proceeded, and Waddell's tireless efforts at preaching for the conformity of society's laws to the higher laws of God, were probably not without some effect, even as he increasingly opposed the authority of Ekpe as illegitimate. Marwick's omission of Waddell from his reckoning of the parties most responsible for the suppression of sacrifice in Calabar is notable. This omission is probably based upon Waddell's conspicuous absence at key points in the debate, rather than on criticism of his preaching for social reform, or his later refusal to work with Ekpe. Lastly, as we have discussed, we should not underestimate the role of William Jameson's preaching in presenting King Eyo with scriptural reasons against the killing of slaves. We will never know the individual effects

¹ Okon (1988:52) claims that the mission teaching caused the Nka servants to be emboldened, which is consistent with the view that the Nka did not rise until 1850-1851. See Jones (1956:149) citing Waddell (1863:476). If the move to support the mission's demands on the grounds of protection from the Nka was the only motive of Eyo and Ekpe, the fact that the Nka only arose in 1850-1 does not appear to allow enough time for the long consideration of matters more characteristic of Eyo. However, if we admit the fact that mission teaching and demands since 1847 created a climate for Eyo and Ekpe to perceive their self-interest on the grounds of the highest common good, the decision to support S.A.I.S.C makes more sense.

² Waddell (MSS 8953:124-5).

of these men's sermons at securing the sanctity of life for all human beings in Calabar. It is enough to note their undeniable cumulative effect.

1.4.4 Preaching on Polygamy from 1846-1858

In Waddell's first few sermons delivered through King Eyo at Creek Town, when touching upon the Commandment "thou shalt not commit adultery", he deliberately avoided dealing with how the Calabar custom of polygamy would be in violation of that commandment.¹ Nevertheless, he, and the other missionaries, did not waste much time before confronting a cultural element they believed was clearly incompatible with the gospel. Speaking with Boca Cobham on 30 April 1846, Waddell asked him if he had a wife:

Yes, he had two, and would soon buy two more. I told him so many wives were not good, that when God made the first man he made only one wife for him, and one good wife was enough for any man. 'But suppose,' he replied, 'the first wife no good, what for do, no for get another?' 'Ah, it is your business to get the first one good, and be good to her, and you won't need another.'²

This opening discussion was based clearly on the biblical imagery from Genesis 2, and provided Waddell with his primary evidence for monogamy. There is, however, no indication in the records that Cobham was remotely impressed with such arguments. We have evidence in this quotation of a widespread practice in Calabar, that of obtaining wives frequently through buying them.³ As Waddell and company had observed from the very beginning, Calabar society itself was hinged together by the various

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2, (1847:27-28).

² Waddell (MSS 7739:40).

³ Dickie (1894:33).

segmented lineage "houses", which themselves were cemented together by polygamy. Indeed, covenants between these houses were often ratified by the giving of daughters as gifts to the other parties; to refuse these contractual marriages simply because one already had a wife, would lead to loss of the covenant, and various ruptures in the community.¹ A clear conflict existed between the mission's prohibitions against polygamy and how the Calabar lineage houses would sustain themselves if polygamy were suddenly removed as a social institution.

At a later date, Waddell had opportunity to discuss the matter with King Eyo, at which time he discovered that even the progressive chief of Creek Town saw the need of maintaining this custom for the sake of the community. In their interview, Waddell tried to prevent the arrangements of a young girl being married off to a man with many other wives already:

This led me once more to speak of the sin of polygamy, and the evil thereby inflicted on all parties concerned...King Eyo said it was in the interests of all parties, especially his, to continue this practice. I urged on him to do what God liked and trust in him, to take care of his own laws, and fear not the consequences; for all their plans and fashions would break down to pieces while the law of God must stand forever. They could never know the blessings of holy marriage so long as they practised polygamy. Eyo acknowledged it to be all true, but thought that the present generation must pass away doing as they had done and leave the young children who were growing up to adopt the improvements proposed.²

Eyo could not bring himself to forsake the old ways, but admitted

¹ Ibid.

² Waddell (MSS 7739:29).

to the goodness of these changes for those younger and more capable of making the change. This type of response lessens the credibility of Nair's comments that Eyo stubbornly refused to yield to any suggestion Efik society should change.¹ Again we see the Waddell's emphasis on trusting God, and fearing not, as well as a basic assumption that the customs of the Efik will break to pieces in the face of the law of God. Only later did Waddell find concrete examples to illustrate his theoretical proclamations around this time.

The marriage of Jamaicans Henry Hamilton and Mary Brown provided the first object-lesson of Christian marriage in Calabar.² Following the ceremonies in February 1848, Waddell found occasion to preach on the subject of marriage for the next two Sabbaths:

...I pointed out the benefits resulting from God's laws on the subject, and the evils of the Calabar custom...My audience had however, previously been instructed by other parties [shipping captains] in doctrines of another kind, more accordant with their own customs, for which both Old Testament practices and those of high European society were quoted as authority. This rendered it necessary for me to be clear, and decided in declaring the truth, and exposing the errors they had learned. In conclusion the king admitted the need of reformation but left it to his son. In vain he was told how unwise and sinful it was, for him to leave any good work to be done by his children which he could do himself. He replied that he was an old tree now, and could not bend like a young one.³

Eyo's response to the mission's teaching on polygamy reflects the fact that there were conflicting versions floating around the

¹ See Nair (1977:276).

² Dickie, *op.cit.*, 34.

³ Waddell (1863:369-370).

Calabar region, due to the influence of the shipping captains. Waddell seems to have resorted to exposing the sinfulness of polygamy by labelling it evil, once his encouragements to provoke change by highlighting the blessings of monogamous marriage had broken down. The reference to the king's son, Young Eyo, was significant. For although the teaching on Christian marriage was being dismissed by the king, the marriage of Hamilton and the preaching of the mission began to have its effect on Young Eyo. He remarked around this time that the Calabar way of marriage "be all same as bring two monkeys together. If God keep my heart I will never marry Calabar fashion."¹

Although Waddell's preaching was having an impact on the younger generation, most of the Calabar gentlemen had remained unaffected by teaching on Christian marriage up until the early part of 1850.² Waddell had proposed to Tom Eyo late in 1849, that two of his slaves, Akpo and Oduto, be married to each other in a regular ceremony.³ Only after a delayed period of trial, did Tom Eyo agree to the ceremony. On 7 April 1850, a week before the marriage date, Waddell concentrated some of his preaching on marriage and polygamy in an imaginative fashion:

...I preached on the duties between husbands and wives. The proper marriage relationship is hardly understood here...The husband is master; his wives are little better in effect than slaves. To explain how they should stand to each other, I compared them to the two hands and arms of a man's body. The man, the right hand, stronger and more active than the other; the woman, the weaker left hand, different, indeed, in its mode of working, but yet most helpful, yea essential, to the

¹ Dickie, op.cit., 35.

² Dickie, op.cit., 35; McKerrow, op.cit., 392.

³ McKerrow, op.cit., 392.

right working of the other. Though the left hand is weaker than the other, still, were it taken away, or disabled by disease, a man would lose more than half of his working power. But two left hands would prove ...a hindrance; and the more they were multiplied, the greater would be the impediment...Suppose it became fashionable in a country for any man to have two, or three, or five, or ten left hands--as many, indeed, as he could procure,--how monstrous it would look, how useless would these left hands be, and what a trouble would the right hand have to counterbalance and to employ all the hands on the other side! Truly the rest of the world would laugh at that country, and call them great fools. Everybody saw my drift, and laughed at the extreme absurdity of it.¹

Waddell appealed here to a certain natural reasoning--as well as to Efik pride in their country--to support his position against polygamy; an appeal to scriptural authority was unlikely to have produced a similar effect. Although some older gentlemen objected to such teaching on conjugal fidelity and Christian marriage ceremonies for slaves, the wedding of Akpo and Odu went ahead as planned on 14 April 1850.² In the case of marriage, we can date the first positive responses to the mission's message from this first marriage of natives in April 1850. But throughout the nineteenth-century, the issue of polygamy would largely remain a stumbling block for the Efik. The mission's adamant refusal to reconsider its position depressed the growth of the church in Calabar, certainly until the very marked patterns of growth began to emerge in the late 1890s and early years of the twentieth-century.³ Indeed, it was necessary for Anderson to continue stressing in 1854 the biblical injunctions against

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.6, (1851:10-11).

² Christie (MSS:19).

³ Hewat (1960:208); for charts of growth patterns, see appendices I and II.

polygamy to young men from 1 Cor. 7.2, Gen. 2, Mal. 2.14-16, and Matt. 19.4-6; in these texts Anderson pointed to the use of the singular, rather than the plural in referring to the number of spouses.¹ Anderson, and indeed, the entire mission was forced to apply such scriptural arguments against polygamy well past the date of the first native wedding in 1850, and quite probably until the end of the century.

We can see that Waddell's teaching on polygamy, which was in the forefront on this issue, was increasingly successful from 1846. It clearly achieved the limited breakthrough of the first native marriage after four years' teaching on the subject. Likewise, there is certainly some correlation between his imaginative use of concrete illustration to punctuate this sermons, and the reception of his message around the same period. We do not see the strenuous denunciation of polygamy as sinful

¹ Anderson recorded this, what appears to be the mission's standard biblical argument in the pioneer periods against polygamy:

One of the native young men asked me.. to show him what part of the Bible forbids a multiplicity of wives.[After reading 1 Cor. 7.2]...he saw plainly that every man is permitted to have 'his own wife'--not wives....and the Saviour's declaration (Matt. 19.4-6) respecting the original institution of marriage, in which he speaks of the twain--not the three, the ten, the twenty. [The young asked...] 'But are we not told some good men had more wives than one?'-- 'True; the Bible also tells us that Cain killed his brother--that Achan stole the Babylonish garment--and that Ananias and Sapphira lied; must we then become murderers, thieves, and liars?' 'But these were bad people'--'True again, but Peter cursed and swore at one time, and David broke the sixth and seventh commandments. Does that make it proper for any man to swear, kill man, or commit adultery?'

See U.P.C.M.R., Vol.9, (1854:171).

and subject to the fires of judgment which were so prevalent in Waddell's previous teaching. There is no evidence to suggest he had changed his views on the subject.¹ However, at least publicly there was now more of emphasis on the foolishness and impracticality of continuing Efik marriage custom.

1.4.5 Preaching on Other Elements of Social Change, 1846-1858

The most concentrated preaching for social change increased after Waddell's second term in 1847, and reached its peak around 1850-1. Such preaching flowed out of a desire to apply cosmological concerns to societal issues. This culminated in a number of breakthroughs on various fronts, most notably with the issues of human sacrifice and marriage, as we have already discussed. Thereafter, we see a marked rise in christological preaching aimed at personal conversion through the 1850s, and a corresponding and proportionate decline in social comment.² However, preaching which opposed local customs remained a regular feature, even as the more abstract theological teaching had been prevalent during the earlier days of "prophetic" calls for social change. Our findings directly oppose Nair's writing on this subject, namely that the burden of evidence shows the missionaries changed from attacks on cosmology and custom to overhauling the social milieu around 1851. We shall establish this contention, by examining in more detail in chapter four how the missionaries developed their theological themes. For the present, as we conclude our discussion

¹ Indeed, for an example of Waddell's thoughts on polygamy around February 1851, see the record of his debate with Captain Turner on the appropriate biblical passages. Waddell (MSS 7740:62 recto).

² We will treat this development in detail in chapter four.

on the preaching and expansion of the mission during 1846-1858, we will examine preaching on various other features of Efik culture from the period leading up to the peak of social commentary in 1850-1, and on through the final days of Waddell's preaching career.

1.4.5.1 The Esere Bean Trial

Allusion has been made earlier to the use of the poison esere-bean to determine the innocence or guilt of a person accused of aggressive witchcraft or *Ifot*. Its administration was opposed on the same grounds basically as the issue of human sacrifice for the dead, and indeed the "bean trial" often occurred in conjunction with and as a prelude to other mass killings upon the death of any great Calabar gentleman. Yet the mission found it necessary to address the esere-bean trial individually as an issue, both before and after the passing of the Ekpe law against human sacrifice in 1850. The contrasting ways in which Waddell himself addressed the esere-bean trial in 1849 and 1852, again demonstrate a progression in his thinking: he moved from opposing customs through a combination of simple theological notions and heavy socio-political rhetoric, to emphasising from the biblical perspective the effects of resisting cultural change upon personal salvation.

On 18 October 1849, Waddell addressed King Eyo in reference to a recent occasion of "chopping nut", as the concept of the bean trial is rendered in the Efik:

...'[I] urged upon him and all present the sacredness of human life, as the gift of God which God alone was entitled to recall, and the duty of all rulers to protect it

to the utmost, and even in the case of the greatest crimes to substitute other means of punishing or repressing the offences.' Eyo seemed to agree with much of this having earlier maintained that the trial was already falling into disuse.¹

While there was certainly more than a hint of theology at the base of Waddell's appeal, it was employed to support the cause of social change. Its application to personal conversion was only secondary. Waddell again exhibited the mission's tendency to make appeal for social change on the grounds of the sanctity of human life; but it is not without significance that elaborate reference to scriptural sources and theological concepts was omitted here. Waddell had discerned that certain theological conceptions from the New Testament needed important preparations from Old Testament perspectives, as well as the foundation of an ethical society.²

It became necessary to preach against the poison trial once again in February 1852. Upon the death of King Archibong on 4 February in Duke Town, his mother began to make various accusations, and *Ifot*, or "witchcraft" was ultimately charged to a number of his wives.³ After administering the bean, a rather large number of deaths followed.⁴ But when a number of "blood men", or plantation slaves who gathered together for self-protection, were called in by the king's mother Obuma to administer revenge to some of the other leading families--the "blood men" themselves turned on Obuma and required her to "chop-nut".⁵

¹ Waddell (MSS 7740:34).

² See Waddell (7740:67), 13 January, 1850.

³ Dickie, op.cit., 44; McFarlan, op.cit., 39.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.; McFarlan, loc.cit.

She promptly refused, and threatened to blow the town up with dynamite if anyone forced her to take the bean.¹ Only upon the intervention at Waddell's insistence of King Eyo from Creek Town was order restored to Duke Town.² The following Sabbath, 15 February 1852, Waddell addressed Creek Town in an effort to be instructive on the preceding week's events, and to denounce the esere-bean trial from scriptural sources:

To-day I read several scriptures suitable to the events of the last week. The first was, 'For this cause the Son of God was manifested that he might destroy the works of the devil, from which I spoke of the blasphemous doctrine prevalent here, that is God does all things so also he makes man sin, and that man is just as God likes him to be and can be no other than God pleases to make him. I exposed and disproved it from its consistencies with men's own conscience and conduct and dealings with one another. But chiefly I dwelt on the way of escaping from Sin and Satan--and the means which God uses and makes known to us for destroying both by manifesting his Son. My second passage was 'Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men are fully set in them to do evil,' together with the verse following from which I showed how men abuse the long sufferings of God and the certain misery and final condemnation of the ungodly who do so how long so ever they may seem to prosper in the sinful practices. My third passage was the conduct of that wicked King Jeroboam and the ruin of himself and his family. These passages are seemingly quite disconnected--yet as illustrated by the events which have recently taken place they wove up into a tolerably compact and instructive web. In conclusion I compared the distracted condition of Duke Town where the kings, etc., all despised and rejected the word of God, with the peace, unity, and strength of Creek Town where some reverence is shown for the word and Sabbath of God, and the instructions of His missionary

¹ Ibid.; McFarlan, loc.cit.

² Waddell (MSS 8953:87).

servants.¹

It is significant that the social dysfunction of the poison-bean ordeal did not in this instance merit an explicit reference in the sermon. Rather, Waddell addressed his teaching in terms of its larger implications for the individual Efik spiritual life within the community. Interesting enough, we can also trace the presence of christological and soteriological themes which were absent from Waddell's earlier preaching on social change. The sermon above demonstrates how Waddell had moved into a phase where preaching on social change was addressed more in conjunction with themes of personal salvation than previously in the 1840s. Here, Waddell cast the debate over the esere bean in positive terms of a way of escape from the sin of cultural and spiritual depravity. In Waddell's view, those who have escaped judgment thus far owe their good fortune to the long suffering of God. He openly presented Christ as the antidote to witchcraft, which was itself a manifestation of sin and Satan, the true sources of responsibility for human evil. In this, Waddell attempted to counter Efik beliefs which perceived God's control over the world to mean that God bore the responsibility for sin, and approved of wicked human behaviour. By alluding to "evil" customs not being put away promptly, the source of evil was directly attributed on scriptural terms to humanity. But even here, Waddell quickly drew the grace of God into the discussion. Along with developing the positive theme of Christ's atonement and the inducement of blessings flowing from it, Waddell used a concretely negative illustration

¹ Waddell, op.cit., 92.

which compared the fall of Jeroboam's house to the waste of Duke Town. Then finally Waddell drew his teaching together by an effective appeal to partisan pride, when the stability of Creek Town was compared to the waste of Duke Town. Such stability was clearly and directly linked to receiving the instruction of God's missionary servants.

Although the esere bean would be used again, the preaching of Waddell had certainly convinced Eyo in Creek Town of the need to quit the poison ordeal. Eyo would not have otherwise intervened at Duke Town if he had not seen any long term interests in doing so--quite apart from the general spiritual blessings promised by the mission for heeding the word of God (though even these Eyo regarded highly by this time).¹ By de-emphasizing social theory, and correspondingly presenting the blessings of quitting the bean trial in such stark positive and negative terms, Waddell appears to have affected Eyo considerably on the subject. This was partly because his preaching had begun to touch upon themes about which Efik religion was particularly concerned: such as various spiritual and material provisions, and escaping from evil and affliction.

While there was clearly a marked decrease in the use of bean trial after February 1852, there is no reason to surmise that it dropped out altogether. The best indicator that a turning point had been reached in the thinking among the Efik leadership at least, came on 26 February 1852, at the occasion of King Eyo's

¹ See McFarlan (1946:41), in which Eyo claimed in response to the burning of his house, "The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away." In addition, the king maintained, "I tell all my people they must come hear God's word as before."

house burning down.¹ Upon the loss of thousands of pounds of furnishings, expectations were high that recriminations would follow, ending in a spate of poison-bean ordeals.² Those expectations were never fulfilled, for no one brought forth any accusations.³ The mission could not know it, but such changes in social behaviour were symptomatic that greater ideological and religious changes were soon to be felt throughout Calabar.

1.4.5.2 The Ndok Celebration

Through the early fifties up to the end of Waddell's mission career in 1858, a number of other Efik social customs and beliefs were challenged by the mission, which we shall examine briefly. The first among these many smaller victories the mission addressed in its teaching, was the Ndok celebration, or biennial purge.⁴ A favourite domestic idol of the Efik was Ekpenyong, which consisted of a skull mounting the top of a stick, adorned with feathers and yellow paint and occupying a prominent place in most households.⁵ Waddell had suggested prior to the Ndok celebration held on 18 November 1849, that all these household items be thrown away.⁶ In a subtle political move, Eyo and the other chiefs agreed to call for the putting away of these idols during the Ndok purge. Since this was a time set aside for the driving away of spirits, an aspect of the local religion was affirmed,

¹ Christie, loc.cit.

² McFarlan, op.cit., 40-41.

³ Dickie, op.cit., 44; McFarlan, loc.cit.

⁴ McKerrow, op.cit., 393.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.; Christie, op.cit., 17.

while at the same time Waddell and the mission was appeased.¹ When the Ndok fell on a Sabbath and commenced anyway, Waddell nevertheless found Eyo and proclaimed that "a heavy sin lay on Calabar for the daring manner in which they had taken God's day for keeping their country's play."² Eyo responded that he did not have the power to change the day.³ Although Waddell was pleased enough with the household idols being apparently thrown away, he was clearly dissatisfied that it had been done in connection with the Ndok on the Sabbath, and spoke of the proceedings in terms of, "one step forward, one step back."⁴

We can see the same shift in Waddell's perceptions on Ndok, as we did on earlier customs--by 1851 he was addressing them as foolishness rather than sin. On 30 November 1851, Waddell addressed the proceedings:

...Having spoken of the state of departed spirits and the impossibility of their being affected by...Ndok, I referred to the devils or evil spirits, who I assured them only laughed at such fooleries, and held their place in men's hearts still, whence they could only be dislodged by the word and Spirit of God. The devils I told them were more afraid of our quiet meetings on Sabbath... and the hearing of God's word than of all the..crying ...and gunfiring...I tried to turn it into ridicule...But we are not afraid of these things. We know there are no ghosts on earth--the dead never come back...Now speak aloud for all to hear and tell them it be fool thing, and that the Son of God alone, even Jesus Christ can save them from the devil and every bad thing.⁵

¹ As we will see in chapter six, the worship of Ekpenyong was probably already declining due to economic changes on the Cross River.

² Waddell (MSS 7740:41).

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Waddell (MSS 8953:60-61).

Waddell records in his diary that Eyo proclaimed these words, and that he himself responded that, "We know it be fool thing. No more it be old fashion."¹ Although the women and children evidently continued to find meaning in the idea of a purge of the ghosts and devils, Waddell's denunciations were beginning to have an effect on Eyo and the leadership. It is also interesting to note the strong appeal to Jesus Christ registered in Waddell's sermon above, which was absent in the his strenuous denunciations of Ndok in November 1849.²

1.4.5.3 Twin Killing

Another important change that was effected directly by the preaching of Waddell and the mission, was the killing of twins. The Efik supposed that twins were monsters, having no limbs, that their bodily senses were quite different from those of normal babies, and to touch them was to invariably to contaminate oneself and perhaps become like them.³ Waddell had been preaching against the practice of infanticide in October of 1851, from the text, "Today if ye will hear my voice, harden not your hearts." On 19 October 1851, he spoke on the various ways in which people harden their hearts:

One of these was the plea of 'country fashion' so often used for refusing or delaying obedience to the work of God, and I brought my remarks to

¹ Ibid., 60.

² Waddell's progression from 1849, when he regarded Ndok as a sin (MSS 7740:41), to a perception of ambivalence (MSS 7742:33-34) up until 1854, and on to a clear view that Efik social and religious custom were harmless in face of the compelling truth of the gospel (MSS 7743:18) can be traced as a function of his increased, but never exhaustive understanding of Efik culture and religion.

³ Dickie, op.cit., 40.

bear on the monstrosly wicked practice of
infanticide in the case of twins...The king
seemed freely to go along with what I said...¹

Apparently it was the old women, and not the young women or men
of the town who resisted change on the subject of killing twins.²
To counter the continuation of twin infanticide, Waddell and the
mission determined to have a public meeting on board the ship
Abeona to influence Eyo and the Duke Town chiefs to pass a law.
The meeting commenced on 21 October 1851, with Waddell
maintaining a number of interrelated points:

The practice prevalent here of killing twins...
is: peculiar, inhuman, ungodly, impolitic, most
foolish, and in the end it is most destructive
of the people guilty of such practices...
It breaks God's commands: thou shalt not kill,
and it encourages the *abiodongs* [*abioidong* or
Efik religious practitioner], the false priests
of the country who chiefly uphold it, and
promotes the superstitions of the country...
Every man who fears God will take care of
children for of such is the kingdom of God.
God will punish...It will ruin the country:
The judgement of God will follow such horrid
crimes. Be sure your sin will find you out.
Now that God has sent the light of his word
to teach Calabar he will not wink at such
doings anymore. The times past of your
ignorance he winked at but now he commands
all men every where to repent...³

Again at this stage in 1851, we can see the ambivalence of
Waddell. On the one hand he regards these customs as evil, and in
other moments he sees the local religious views that have given
rise to such practices as mere foolishness. He strongly presented
his case, because he felt he needed to counter the *abioidong* and
his prevalent religious practices. Waddell based his argument on

¹ Waddell (MSS 8953:42).

² Ibid.

³ See Waddell's Manuscript Notes from the Abeona meeting, 21
October, 1851, (MSS 8953:43-47).

scriptural themes. Yet, befitting this still rather early phase of the fifties, the stress was on judgment and denunciation, rather than on emphasizing the positive blessings attending a significant shift in allegiance to Jesus Christ. The full implications of Jesus' alignment with marginal people such as children, from a text such as "suffer the little children to come unto me", was explored only obliquely in terms of the kingdom of God belonging to children. However, the full exhibition of the ministry and significance of Jesus was only beginning to be taught at this phase in 1851. Thus, it is understandable that the judgment of God might provide the keynote of this address. Waddell certainly addressed his call for change to the chiefs in terms of a possible community salvation--although it was presented as an escape from judgment rather than a reception of a positive blessing. It was strong prophetic preaching, dealing with "the here and now", but not without some hints of the full character of God's mercy providing a way of salvation.

There was certainly much opposition to Waddell's calls.¹ King Eyo gave mild assent to the proposal that he and the chiefs pass a law against the practice, but only under considerable duress.² Waddell finally argued that at the very least a town should be put up as a "city of refuge", in which the mothers of twins could live. In the face of stiff opposition, this motion was accepted by Eyo, and he committed himself on record to this solution.³ The Duke Town chiefs were notably silent in

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

their response.¹

The preaching, in conjunction with the pressure from the shipping captains, soon had a positive effect. In May 1852, twins were born at Old Town within the mission compound, and were saved by Mrs. Edgerly despite the pleadings of the mother to kill the children.² Although Ekpe was "blown" on the mission compound, as a type of legal sanction or boycott by the secret society, the women were ultimately visited by Cameroons and Young Eyo from Creek Town.³ Later, when a similar birth occurred in Creek Town, Eyo himself made provision for the protection of the babies and the mother. This suggests that the preaching of Waddell and the missionaries had begun to have a salutary effect on Calabar public opinion. As William Dickie maintained in connection to the mission's victory over twin infanticide:

Such object-lessons in humaneness, for which the preaching had prepared the people, did much to prepare the people for the further preaching of the gospel of Jesus, which had so much to offer to women and to little children.⁴

1.5 Conclusions

During the pioneer period of 1846-1858, Waddell and the other missionaries certainly faced many challenges from various customs which they believed prevented the reception of the full meaning of the Gospel. As we have discovered, the United Presbyterian missionaries early on directed their mission preaching to areas of perceived social dysfunction. Nevertheless they conceived and addressed their denunciations in terms of

¹ Christie, op.cit., 21.

² Christie, op.cit., 23; Dickie, op.cit., 41.

³ Dickie, op.cit., 42.

⁴ Ibid.

providing an environment which would encourage both personal and communal salvation. Partly due to the mission's intention to effect social change in the urban centres of Calabar before embarking upon further expansion, no real penetration into the interior occurred. Indeed, by 1858 only three out-stations had been opened, at Old Town, Ikunetu, and Ikorofiong.¹

We have also demonstrated how the indigenous response in this phase was restricted largely to controlled social change. Taylor makes this point by saying the mission's slight numbers and the control of the Efik meant that it had to strive for indirect influence in the society through the direct influence in individual's lives--rather than expecting revolutionary change through bullying and legislation.² Our findings also weaken inconsistently argued notions by Nair, however, that Eyo refused to yield to social change at all.³ The evidence cited, moreover, overturns Taylor's assertions that the Presbyterians were generally more interested in education and social change than evangelism. Likewise, we have argued against Johnston's view that the prophetic tradition was stressed to the exclusion of teaching about the character of God. Indeed, during the phase immediately

¹ Christie (MSS:1858); Taylor maintains that because the mission was "determined to get it right", they consolidated their influence over coastal territories, rather than expanding up river. Taylor (1983:234).

² Ibid., 231.

³ Nair (1977:244, 276). Nair himself argues that the only reforms Eyo agreed to were obsolete. See op.cit., 261-2. Nevertheless, the change in Calabar due to trade was sufficient that Eyo would clearly have needed to concede to substantive, rather than cosmetic changes--if we assume Eyo's able leadership qualities which Nair wishes to defend. Thus Eyo found it necessary to accede to changes he felt were unsuitable. See also, op.cit., 244.

after the mission entered Calabar, preaching did strongly emphasise judgment against evil customs and religious beliefs; furthermore preaching called for change in the social configurations giving rise to various religious beliefs. Yet this was never at the total expense of teaching about the character of God. Moreover, that teaching was concentrated upon convincing the Efik of their status as sinners and lawbreakers before God. As initial victories began to be registered in favour of social change--from the late 1840s to a climax in 1850-51--the way was cleared for a corresponding increase in preaching on more christological and soteriological themes. This pattern contradicts vague notions held by Nair and Taylor that social reform only begins in Calabar in 1851.¹ It is clear that the mission harmonized its social, economic, moral, and education policies with its evangelism.² Yet these policies were derivative and supportive of the the Christian teachings as the mission understood them, and sought to spread them.

Waddell himself became decreasingly interested in preaching for social change, and more concerned with obtaining converts as tangible fruit of his ministry--again in contrast to

¹ Taylor (1983:229) and Nair (1977:249, and 276).

² Taylor, *op.cit.*, 225, makes this point well enough, but asserts that the region's material well-being and ignorance were as important or more important to the mission than promoting spiritual salvation. This was patently not true as we have shown, for the primacy of preaching was asserted by Goldie (U.P.C.M.R., Vol.5, 1850:90-91), and no detailed treatment of the educational process has come down to us from Goldie or Marwick, or any other of the mission's foremost historians.

Taylor's assertions.¹ Certainly by 1855-56, Waddell was a spent preaching force in relation both to social change and personal evangelism, as the significant lack of references in his diary to preaching over the period suggests.² In fact he was left in the end a rather isolated figure whom time had passed by--relegated to criticizing the preaching of others rather than doing much of it himself.³

The vigorous attempts at social change in the late 40s and early 50s were meant to set the foundation for a emerging church. With that foundation in place, it was believed that the Efik would be less likely to resist more integrated preaching on the grace of Jesus Christ that came in the next decade. Moreover, Eyo and other Efik leaders appeared to prefer lobbying for the teaching of prohibitions and prescriptions to properly live the Christian life.⁴ Until the latter part of the 1850s it seems the mission was in danger of preaching--and the people of Calabar were always at risk of interpreting--Christianity as a new type of

¹ By 1855 we can trace Waddell's obsession with restoring Young Eyo (MSS 7743:46), but his references to preaching on social change are much less strident by this time. See Waddell (MSS 7743:28). Indeed, he also seems less concerned with his preaching content by this time.

² Waddell (MSS 7743:28). See note 210 above. Also see MSS 7743 for the sporadic references to preaching, and the more copious recording of his personal interviews with Young Eyo.

³ Waddell (7743:91).

⁴ Nair (1977:263); Eyo granted the need for reforms, while personally resisting some of those same reforms.

legalism.¹ An awareness of elements within Efik local religion can begin to be traced also from around 1851. This somewhat ameliorated the tendency for missionaries to disparage all Efik culture.² Yet the appreciation of the local religion as an important element in assisting the Efik to interpret Christianity did not occur until well past this pioneer period. We have seen evidence that the mission viewed early Efik interpretations of Christianity as foolishness at best, but sometimes as hard-hearted evil, subject to God's condemnation.

Finally, we have seen that when the preachers pitched scriptural arguments with even a rudimentary understanding of the Efik religious views--presented alongside various positive illustrations of the blessings to be had in trusting Jesus as a way of escape from evil--the leaders of the Efik people were clearly more inclined to consider change. We see the emergence of crude approximations of this type of preaching, along with corresponding responses in the area of social change initially from 1850-2. The first conversions to Christianity occurred in 1853; the mission had to be content largely until that time with responses from Eyo and the other kings of Calabar in restricted areas of social reform. Not until the preaching could proceed with the support of a vernacular Bible translation--in the next period

¹ See Noah (1978:106). Noah argues that for Africans and Efik in particular, the teaching of lists of prohibitions confirmed African belief in taboo. He maintains that the African reasoned that what the Christian was doing was substituting one set of taboos for another, not that taboos were bad in themselves.

² This qualifies Okon's views that mission preaching was inciting and treasonable, as they "lambasted" culture. See Okon (1988:52).

of transition from 1858-1880--do we begin to see any marked indications that the United Presbyterians' representation of the Gospel had penetrated Efik patterns of religious belief to any significant degree. More significantly perhaps, we will also begin to see evidence of a most remarkable phenomenon: Christianity not merely received, but reformulated by certain resilient elements of the Efik religious tradition, and in the transaction, being re-invigorated as well.

Chapter 2

The Expansion of the Calabar Mission, 1858-1900:
The Representation of the Gospel and Local
Response to Teaching on Conversion and
Social Change

2.1 Introduction

We shall continue exploring our theme of how the United Presbyterian missionaries represented the Gospel in the Calabar region, by looking now at the period from 1858-1900.

First, we shall discuss the period from 1858-1880. We seek to demonstrate in historical terms how this period was a time of transition and consolidation for the expansion of the mission's message, in the face of a steadily increasing openness among the Efik to aspects of Christian preaching. We shall then move to examine the next period from 1880-1900: years which marked both territorial and ideological penetrations into Efik society, during the run-up to the British colonial occupation at the turn of the century.

Throughout this chapter, we shall be examining the characteristics and effects of the Calabar mission's proclamation--primarily in the area of socio-political reaction and change. We shall be leaving aside for later chapters the thorough discussion of the sources which depict the development of the mission's theology in its proclamation. In chapter four specifically, we shall analyse what sources we have at our disposal, and what we can know about the theological teaching of the mission through those sources. Once this has been done, we can move to analyse the assimilation and propagation of Christian teaching by the Efik themselves. As for now, we seek to continue sketching the broader story of the transmission of Christian teaching throughout the Cross River region. Moreover, we shall likewise draw attention here to the development of the indigenous response, unfolding in tension between local

religious traditions and the new challenge presented by the Christian message. In this way then, we can treat in a preliminary manner the relationship between the transmission of the Christian faith by the mission, and the local assimilation of that Christian teaching.

2.2 Representation of the Gospel from 1858-1880

2.2.1 Consolidation and Obstacles as the Background to Mission Expansion from 1858-1880

With Waddell and Eyo both removed from the scene in 1858, the mission was now free to begin a new phase of expansion which these strong leaders had in their different ways prevented.¹ The authority structure of the entire mission broadened considerably only three months after Waddell's departure, with the forming of the Presbytery of Biafra on 1 September 1858.² However, significant expansion out from the urban Calabar areas did not occur during this period because of a number political and economic factors. First, the Efik held a monopoly of trade from the mouth of the Cross River to the island of Umon, and operated as middle men for the European captains and the palm-oil

¹ Taylor (1980:176).

² Christie (MSS:35, 1858); Taylor (1984:191) maintains that after the Presbytery was formed in 1858, a perpetual struggle ensued between conservatives who stressed consolidation (both expatriate and indigenous personnel), and the radicals influenced by the Igbo who pressed for northward expansion. Taylor also maintains that the Efik dominated conservatives prevailed until 1900, but as we shall see the breakthrough to Umon occurred in 1880, which was a significant northward expansion outside of Efik cultural boundaries. So we would wish to qualify Taylor's statement; while it did take until around 1900 for the entire mission to be convinced of the need and the possibility of northward expansion, significant efforts in that direction did occur earlier in the period 1880-1900.

producers in the interior. If the missionaries established stations up-river, the Efik feared that soon the trading Captains would follow and find ways to circumvent the role of Calabar in the palm-oil business, causing Efik fortunes to decline.¹

The exploration and settlement of the mission up-river was actively opposed by the Efik chiefs.² Indeed, the opening of Ikorofiong and Ikunetu had caused the Efik chiefs some considerable concern; they had even required the mission to agree that no trading would be done on the premises at Ikorofiong after its opening in 1858.³ The fears of the Efik were realized in the early 1860s when the missionary at Ikunetu, W.C. Thomson, engaged in establishing direct trading connections between palm-oil suppliers at Umon and European trading captains down in Calabar. With justifiable anger, King Archibong of Duke Town tried to expel the mission, and called together an assembly to discuss the matter in "palaver" fashion.⁴ During the palaver, Archibong's hostility was determined; but King Eyo of Creek Town intervened with characteristic wisdom when he said to the chiefs that they might as well try to stop the rain in its descent as to stay the extension of God's message--even if the missionaries were sent away.⁵

Here is a clear indication of the significant penetration

¹ Johnston (1988:18-19).

² Taylor, op.cit., 221.

³ Ibid., 19. Taylor quotes as his source, the *Minutes of the Presbytery of Biafra*, 6 October, 1858, which are not accessible to me.

⁴ Christie, (MSS:1860).

⁵ Goldie and Dean (1901:207).

of the Gospel by the early 1860s. Moreover, it shows Eyo operating as a forceful advocate for the Christian message, although he himself had not fully capitulated to its most central tenets. Equally, it was most significant that Eyo did not identify the success of the Gospel with the mission agency; on the contrary, it was God's message to the Efik. Although he and many others were finding it difficult to capitulate fully to its demands, Eyo at least recognized that the best interests of the Efik lay with the next generation accepting this message. Furthermore, the statement is strong evidence that the mission's message was coming to be understood--even if not fully accepted--by a considerable number of Efik by the early 1860s; if this were not so, Eyo would have claimed the Christian message needed the presence of the missionaries to teach its meaning clearly. Yet on the contrary, Eyo maintained that by this time the message could and would spread independent of missionary agents.

Thomson himself was preparing to make his defence, when the assembly was interrupted by a violent and sudden tornado.¹ Afterwards, the theological significance of the tornado was not lost upon one of the leading chiefs, Iron Bar, when he commented, "For true, your God was there that day."² The perception that through force God had shown favour towards the mission--as well as towards Eyo's arguments--was more effective in validating the Christian message than any of the theological propositions advanced by the mission.

Because of the Thomson episode, and the mission's desire

¹ Ibid.; Christie, loc.cit.

² Ibid., 208.

to maintain good appearances to further their cause, tentativeness in expansion was the order of the day from the 1860s onward. In addition to this, the up-river chiefs--especially at the strategic places of Umon and Akunakuna further on--had simply not invited the mission to settle.¹ These facts taken together suggest that it was clearly in the mission's best interest to concentrate on consolidating the advances made in Creek and Duke Town. Indeed, Taylor has suggested that as Anderson emerged as the new leader of the mission, his years of leadership until the early 1880s may be summarized as a time in which Waddell's accomplishments were reinforced: the mission gave first attention to personal evangelism, followed by secondary, yet significant attempts at social reform.²

Let us then, concentrate presently on how the reinforcement of Waddell's preaching program was accomplished, primarily in the area of social reform. We shall at the same time note the significant shifts in both the representation of the Gospel, and the response to it over the period 1858-1880.

2.2.2 Calls for Social Change and Conversion in Mission Proclamation from 1858-1880

2.2.2.1 Anderson on Social Change in 1859: Relating Biblical Teaching to the Individual and the Society

The example of William Anderson's preaching work over the period provides a good starting place for our discussion, for his ministry functioned to consolidate the preaching which preceded him. He, like Waddell, concentrated steadily on

¹ Johnston, op.cit., 20.

² Taylor, loc.cit.

calling for social reforms by relating biblical instruction to the society and religious world-view of the Duke Town Efik. Yet he was always prepared to discuss how these changes related to daily living, connecting them with the transformation of their spiritual lives. Indeed, as Waddell himself wrote, Anderson's sermons were occasions for stimulating his congregation to think differently about their daily lives.¹ For Anderson, the preaching of morality and personal spiritual growth was done with a view towards societal reform.² Moreover, Anderson was inclined to be personal in his sermons, lapsing into pidgin English to be understood, and wasting no time in pointing out evil.³

In his preaching Anderson reinforced social reform by applying biblical passages to concrete situations of living within the Church; in doing so, he brought out subtleties within the message of Christ's salvation without going into great detail on

¹ Waddell (1863:375); Taylor (1984:195).

² Taylor (1983:229).

³ Aye (1987:90).

the mechanics of the doctrine of the atonement.¹ However, Anderson's tendency to reinforce first truths with broadly based biblical teaching never replaced another favourite theme of his: the strident portrayal of salvation as an escape from judgment and a preparation for eternal life.² As we shall explore more fully in chapter four, Anderson moved to a more systematic, linear, and comprehensive approach in biblical teaching which we see increasingly from 1863. The move was only made possible by the mission's access to the vernacular New Testament first published in 1863, and the ongoing effectiveness of missionaries

¹ The citations of Anderson's teaching from 1858-1880, derived from the available primary sources, were reviewed chronologically by the author. Of the 55 public pronouncements and private conversational examples of Anderson's teaching we possess over that period, only 17 were explicitly and primarily concerned with social change. Of these 17, eight were given in the four year period from 1858-1862, and only two were given after 1870. All of this indicates that the bulk of the references we possess for Anderson's preaching on cultural reform (15 out of a total 17 references) are from before 1870. This suggests that Anderson's preaching on social reform was done rather early during our period 1858-1880. The 38 remaining references of Anderson's 55 sermon citations from the period 1858-1880--were calls for obedience and for "trusting" Christ, sprinkled among liberal doses of comprehensive teaching on the topic of Christian living within the church. A more comprehensive profile of Anderson's theological development, along with a discussion of the sources from which this profile was derived, can be found in chapter four.

² An examination of Anderson's sources over 1858-1880, reveals that we have 9 citations of his preaching explicitly on themes of judgement, death, eternity, and resurrection of the dead. This is somewhat less than the 17 citations we have on Anderson preaching on social reform. However, for one related theological theme--death, judgment, and eternal life--the incidence of it in Anderson's preaching appears disproportionately large in relation to other theological and social reform themes. Cf. Anderson's theological development profile in chapter four.

at teaching the people of Calabar to read it.¹ The fact that such a sharp break occurs in the approach adopted by the mission's acknowledged leader, Anderson, over the period 1858-1880, backs up the assertion that these years formed a transition in the preaching of the Calabar mission.²

It is possible to illustrate this transition from the preaching of the early pioneer period 1846-1858 aimed primarily at social conditions, to proclamation that used social reform to reinforce an emphasis on spiritual reform. On 9 August 1859, Anderson was called upon to make some appropriate remarks at the coronation of Archibong II, King of Duke Town. Although his remarks were primarily directed towards the duties of rulers to enact a just society, they were not done without reference to spiritual benefits:

...I rose, congratulated the king on his elevation, and, ...delivered a short address,

¹ The documentation of Anderson's teaching demonstrates that of his roughly 43 sermon citations from 1863-1880, 38 indicate strong systematic teaching from entire biblical books on materials such as Christ's ministry and own teaching, and living within the church community. Of the 12 sermons from 1858-1862, only 4 deal with such topics. This suggests a shift in Anderson's topical emphasis from social reform to teaching on New Testament themes.

² We see a similar transition in the preaching of Hugh Goldie, who prior to 1863 recorded many instances of the individual texts and messages he presented. After 1863, most of his citations consist of yearly reports describing the books of the bible covered systematically during the year. This indicates that he too, became more concerned with teaching the full body of New Testament, and ultimately Old Testament teaching-- that could be better treated through a linear type of exposition building, "line upon line, precept upon precept." This particular move mirrors the example of Anderson, and certainly confirms among our two best documentary sources the justification of our labelling the years 1858-1880 a time of consolidation and transition.

in the Efik language, on the solemn duty and responsibilities of elders, their duty to enact good laws, etc.; and then I suggested that we unite in solemn prayer to God on behalf of both King and country. I conducted the devotional services in both Efik and English.

...About two P.M....in the course of conversation I suggested to him that he could not inaugurate his reign better than by the immediate and total abolition of the Sabbath market. My suggestion was ably supported by the whites present. After a little conversation with the other gentlemen, and notwithstanding the opposition of one, if not of more, Archibong, much sooner than I could have expected, stated that he was quite willing at once to prevent the market from being held any more *inside* the town, but he could not at once prevent it from being held on the Qua frontier, outside the town, at the twin mothers village. I felt thankful that he was able and willing to do so much.¹

The occasion for this sermon was indeed unique. It appears that the mission was trying to set up a type of Scots state-- with ordinances and "devotional exercises" at public events.² Yet this sermon is a good example of the type of *content* Anderson often preached from 1858-1862.³ It was preaching which pointed to the spiritual benefits the community could receive if it turned towards God; at the same time it was strongly influenced by the social reform program of the early pioneer period. Anderson presented his proposal for change after the prayer to God had

¹ Marwick (1897:378-9).

² Comments provided by Professor A.F. Walls, March 1991, who also helpfully maintains that the term "devotional exercises" was simply contemporary jargon for public prayer.

³ Looking at the chronology of Anderson's teaching from 1858-1862, we discover that of the 12 sermons extant, 8 are aimed at social change and human rights within the Duke Town context, and 4 could be described as theological, dealing primarily with the teaching of Christ in his miracles and parables.

invoked the promise of spiritual blessing for the community. And he linked the enactment of just laws (in this case abolition of Sunday markets) with the preservation of Efik social institutions and material well-being. In light of the nature of the proposal, Anderson's timing was thus appropriate: good-will was high among all the parties at the coronation--and Anderson could make his appeal for change before the accumulated responsibilities hardened Archibong to such appeals.

That the mission directly appealed to God to bring about these blessings for King and country, clearly had a favourable effect on the people present. The notion of individuals praying to God to secure blessings was already prevalent among the general population.¹ So this appeal was logically consistent with patterns of Efik religion--focusing upon the blessings given to the individual as well as to the community through praying to Abasi on special occasions.² Anderson and the mission in Duke Town were thereby commended as people of good-will, at least for the time being. The fact that these messengers of the Gospel

¹ U.F.C.M.R., (1914:414-415); this is an ethnographic work by the Rev. J.K. Macgregor, Principal of the Hope Waddell institute.

² Ibid.; J.K. Macgregor claimed that: "On Aqua Offion--the second day of the native week--the family gather in the yard [around Iso Abasi--an ornamented alter of mud enshrining the presence of God] and the head of the house offers prayer, asking the blessing of Abasi on himself and his family, and revenge on those who have wronged him." The fact that a day of prayer was set aside on the second day of the Efik week, indicates prayer was seen as important to the maintenance of that society. Also, since harm could be prayed against parties who had wronged an individual, Efik religious world-view appears to have sanctioned the view that the community can be blessed or disrupted through individual prayer, as much as any individual.

showed in a public manner their solidarity with the nation's well-being at the coronation of the King, and for the continuance of a certain Efik social institution, clearly created a climate more favourable to the Gospel message. Although the ban on the Sabbath markets was only enforceable in Duke Town, it certainly made it easier to attend to the mission's preaching without the distraction of commerce, quite apart from the spiritual gains the mission would have assured the Efik of receiving.¹

The presentation of social reform by Anderson at this point in 1859, was thus certainly designed to reinforce and extend Waddell's work. It came to be presented however, increasingly with studied reference to the spiritual transformation of the community. Indeed, from 1862 onwards to 1880, the explicit priority of Anderson as well as the mission itself, consisted of a strong emphasis on fleeing the wrath of judgment and obtaining blessing through response to the biblical message. On 13 April 1862 and 5 April 1863, Anderson presented these themes:²

In reference to the burning of Yellow Duke's house, barely finished, I told them, 'I well knew what Yellow Duke was feeling, for my house, as they all knew had been consumed by fire. I spoke briefly in reference to the event on the Sabbath. The substance of the remarks may be scripturally Englished thus: "Hear ye the rod, and who hath appointed it."'³

On reading Waddell's book; 'It enabled me to speak to them under fresh views of the grandeur of my work as a missionary, the value of the gospel, the high privileges

¹ Marwick, op.cit., 380.

² It becomes difficult after 1863 to find long quotes of Anderson's preaching, since he began to increasingly and systematically teach through the Efik New Testament published in 1863.

³ Marwick (1897:398); 13 April 1862.

which the Calabarese (especially Duke Town) have long neglected and misimproved, and the importance to "The One Thing Needful"'.¹

At this point, prior to the introduction of consistent rounds of teaching on the vernacular New Testament, mission preaching at Calabar necessarily relied on concrete examples similar to the instances above. Such preaching presented the abstractions of a theological message with the need for changes in behaviour, in order to illustrate the practical benefit of Christianity. It is clear that some--but by no means all--of the benefits of the Christian message presented by Anderson and others had become apparent to various Efik people even by 1863.² Sympathetic response to the mission message was to increase as Anderson after 1868 came to preach consistently throughout the year from the vernacular Bible in both Old and New Testaments. However, it was the true linguistic genius of the mission, Hugh Goldie, who most systematically and consecutively taught the Bible to the people of Creek Town.

2.2.2.2 Goldie's Farewell Preaching on Reform and the Significance of Jesus Christ in Ikunetu, 1858

For Goldie, the departure for his third furlough marks the end of his pioneer preaching days.³ We can see in his farewell address to Ikunetu on 23 May 1858, a summary of his preaching

¹ Ibid., 402; 5 April 1863.

² Hugh Goldie maintained on 1 June 1863, that the name of Jesus had penetrated among the people of Creek Town, even though he had confined himself up until then with primarily teaching children. The fact that the children were spreading the teaching is perhaps easily overlooked, and one should not underestimate the power of children in spreading the Gospel message to curious parents in a mission setting. See U.P.C.M.R., Vol.19, (1864:115-16).

³ Christie (MSS:1858).

patterns since 1849. Goldie had founded his earliest preaching on the failure of humanity to keep the moral law of God; this was because he had learned early on that his listeners were largely indifferent to preaching on the theological dogma of atonement.¹ So he felt it expedient to first preach reform in cultural and religious practices, moving from there to present the history, teaching, and significance of the ministry of Jesus Christ.²

Goldie thus addressed the people of Ikunetu on 23 May concerning "the necessity of meeting the responsibility which the possession of the gospel now conferred on them, by leaving 'dead works to serve the living God'". In this sermon he was reinforcing all of his previous foundational teaching, as well as his calls for religious and cultural reform.³ Indeed, he directed the sermon to where the mission and the Efik both agreed there was authority: in the message of God found in the scripture. Significantly, even at this stage in 1858, Goldie--who was never given to much overstatement--claimed that the "truth of God is known by a good many who knew it not before."⁴ Yet Goldie concluded in the same passage that "no one has come forward to make the profession of faith."⁵ Goldie felt satisfied that he had sufficiently addressed the evil of dead works by this

¹ See Goldie's sermon of 18 March 1849, on "The way of salvation", a discourse on belief in Jesus which we are told, the "audience felt little interest." U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:171).

² See U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:44, 45, 70-71, 130-131, 133-134, 171, 185); 3, 17, 24 September 1848; 16, 22, 29 October 1848; 12 November 1848; 18 December 1848; 21 January 1849; 18 March 1849; 8, 15 April 1849; 6 May 1849.

³ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.13, (1858:193).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

time, for it does not figure very large in his subsequent teaching.¹ Therefore, the theme merely paved the way for Goldie to preach on "how to serve the living God" in a more sustained fashion from the years 1858-1880.²

Following the initial conversions of 1853, even greater prospects arose for the Efik to assimilate scriptural teaching after 1862, due to the availability of the printed Efik New Testament. The mission, led by Anderson and Goldie, found the preaching of the "pure" Gospel more fulfilling as conversions began steadily to occur. Hence, these leaders decreased preaching aimed exclusively at social reform over the period 1858-1880, while they focused more upon the need for personal salvation.³

With Goldie, this type of preaching occurred most notably after Anderson had concentrated on consolidating some social reforms, such as abolition of Sunday markets. Goldie was prone to preach on such topics as "how shall we escape if we neglect so great a salvation",⁴ and "the one thing needful"⁵ throughout the early 1860s. Such themes concentrated on the value of the Gospel, and included exhortations to pay attention to it, in

¹ See Goldie's sermon on 21 January 1849, U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:134). See also 31 January 1852 in Marwick (1897:259). Goldie did not overemphasise social reform: the bulk of the sources for his preaching refer simply to teachings about Jesus. Instead of endlessly haranguing the Efik to change their customs, he was more concerned about patiently instructing interested listeners about the way of salvation.

² Ibid.

³ It correspondingly becomes difficult to give substantial extracts for Goldie's and Anderson's preaching, since exposition of the Bible became the order of the day, as we showed earlier. We shall treat the scant evidence we have of Goldie and Anderson's preaching during this period, later in chapter four.

⁴ Hebrews 2.3, 24 June, 1860, U.P.C.M.R., Vol.15, (1860:188).

⁵ Luke 10.41-42, 5 April, 1863, U.P.C.M.R., Vol.18, (1863:169).

order to find "the way of salvation".

2.2.2.3 Anderson Confronts the Substitutionary Punishment of Slaves in 1860

One major aspect of Efik culture remained to be challenged by the mission. It was the practice of substitutionary punishment, and this responsibility fell to Anderson. In order to avoid the penalty of breaking one of the Ekpe laws, whenever a member of that regulatory social institution himself was found in transgression of its laws, a slave was offered and killed as a substitute for his master; the free-man was merely fined.¹ Considering missionary preaching about the importance of the substitutionary death of Jesus for the forgiveness of sins, the confusion the Efik clearly felt at the opposition of the mission to substitutionary punishment was understandable. A mode of presentation capable of contrasting the Christian conception of substitutionary atonement with this Efik practice was therefore paramount. Indeed, as Anderson wrote, leading men of Duke Town were articulating this very question in a very penetrating fashion in a Sabbath service on 2 December 1860:

...took the occasion to condemn the custom of substitutionary punishment, and made the young people proclaim God's law on the subject in the two texts...[Deut.24.16, Ezek. 18.20] Mr. Hogan asked leave to express his views on the matter, which he did thus: 'We no think it wrong for one man to die for another. It just be what Jesus Christ do. He come to this world, die for all we sins; he die to save we life. So when Calabar slave die for his master, it be same as Jesus Christ do.'²

¹ McFarlan (1946:61).

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.16, (1861:42).

Anderson used texts from Deuteronomy and Ezekiel on sons and fathers not being put to death for one another as a clear biblical injunction against substitutionary punishment. These texts were used because it was evidently common for some Efik to counter this prohibition with the story of Abraham's attempt to slay Isaac for a burnt sacrifice offering (Genesis 22.1-13). The story raised the question of whether human sacrifices for securing prosperity was indeed lawful.¹ A stock response given by the mission was that God's disapproval of this murder of Isaac was demonstrated by the provision of "the ram caught in the thicket".² But the injunction against substitutionary punishment was based on arguments which assumed personal culpability. This conflicted with the Efik normative view that the rights of individuals were in subjection to the well-being of the free-men and elders in the community.³ It is interesting to note that Anderson's choice of text in Ezekiel 18.20 ff., reconciles a prohibition against communal injustice with the responsibility and the possibility of individual redemption. Indeed, Anderson's measured response to Mr. Hogan was probably not as compelling as the scriptural material itself:

In reply, I explained that, before any one could die as a substitute, there must be two things--1.The will; 2.the power, etc. An addition occurs to me now which did

¹ Aye (1987:52).

² Ibid.

³ Forde (1956:xi-xii). Efik "houses" consisted of lineages--or large corporations--in which many dependents were under the authority of the "house" head. Forde refers to Jones' argument, that the later atrocities of Old Calabar, where wives and slaves were sacrificed, were occasions of destructive competitiveness by rival houses. Thus it was normative in this period for the individual rights of slaves to be subordinated to larger segments of the community.

not occur to me at the moment....God
did not kill slaves instead of his Son;
Christ asked no substitute to die for
him. The Father gave his Son, the Son
gave himself to die in the room of slaves;
Will Calabar gentlemen do thus?¹

Anderson contrasted the involuntary death of a slave with the death of Christ--a willing agent who had the power to refuse not only his "cup of suffering", but also to represent God's interests in propitiating sin. The mission had been unable by this stage to develop its teaching on the trinity comprehensively; so the argument--which rests on an appreciation of the distinction between the Father and the Son, as well as the unity of Christ and God the Father--probably found no place with Hogan. Since Anderson did not record any further reply we can perhaps infer that the argument left Hogan largely unconvinced.

Nonetheless, the Efik did have a ready model for interpreting vicarious suffering, and they could certainly appreciate the Christian teaching of how the death of Christ allowed humanity to go free. The first understanding of this central tenet of the New Testament was beginning to emerge among the leaders of the Duke Town Efik. It is all the more curious in light of this highly developed Efik understanding of substitutionary atonement, that the subject is not pursued any more in the documentary records for the period 1858-1880.

Soon after this incident, on 18 January 1861, substitutionary punishment was abandoned by agreement with the Acting Consul in Creek Town; the Duke Town chiefs under Anderson's hearing, however, refused to enter into the

¹ Ibid.

agreement.¹ In May, after a Creek Town slave had been killed in substitutionary fashion, Anderson felt it necessary to confront King Archibong about the killings throughout Calabar.²

Archibong became hot with anger and threatened to kill Anderson on the very spot if he tried to interfere in these matters.

Anderson prevailed by stating:

...it no use to be vexed with me. I no fit
to change God's word. All men, free and slave
stand same before him; and his Word speak
very strong on that point.³

After a few more words were spoken having to do with Archibong's right to punish slaves that did evil, Anderson left the king in a more pacified state.⁴ Anderson did not on that day persuade Archibong to make a treaty against substitutionary punishment. Indeed, it was fully ten years later in 1871 that substitutionary punishment was finally abolished in Duke Town by treaty with the Consul--and that was because Archibong was becoming progressively more ill; he died the following year.⁵

But the first true dialogue on the matter had now begun. Anderson had become aware of the need to target his preaching in such a way as to demonstrate God's supreme sacrifice of his own Son. Furthermore, Anderson now intended to present Christ's obedience until death as an example to the free-men of Calabar: an example for the need to respect the lives of all men and women whom Christ had bought from the slavery of sin. In this way, Anderson used the theological issue of substitutionary atonement

¹ Christie (MSS:1861).

² McFarlan (1946:61); U.P.C.M.R., Vol. 16, (1861:197).

³ U.P.C.M.R., loc.cit.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Christie (MSS:1871).

as a basis for social reform. Yet this was one of the last times we can note Anderson concentrating his teaching explicitly on a particular Efik custom. From the early 1860s, we see few references to issues of social reform in Anderson's preaching.

2.2.2.4 Shifts in Preaching from the early 1860s: Concentration on Conversion, and the Life and Teaching of Christ

Apart from Hugh Goldie's crusade against the trade and consumption of rum,¹ most of the mission's preaching on social reform was superseded from the early 1860s by teaching centring on the life and teaching of Christ. The mission began frequently to urge conversion by making copious appeals to imminent judgment, and the prospects of escaping failure and calamity in this earthly existence. We can see such examples of this emphasis in the preaching of Anderson.² We can also find this approach used by Alexander Robb at Ikorofiong. He preached "The Kingdom of God is at hand", from Mark 1.15 at the opening of the new church there; he set forth in his words: "the gospel scheme in all its fullness and freeness, at the same time showing them their danger if they refused to accept the invitation given to repent."³ Here we see evidence of an emerging shift to kerygmatic preaching for conversion, based on an apostolic pattern calling for repentance and belief in the face of the

¹ 26 February, 1860, U.P.C.M.R., Vol.15, (1860:187).

² See sermons on 13, 20, 28 April 1862, U.P.C.M.R., Vol.17, (1862:117), as well as appeals to conversion on 15 December, 1864, U.P.C.M.R., Vol.20, (1865:83). Note also, 19 April 1868 on death, judgment, and eternity, U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2 new series, (1868:154), and resurrection of the dead and judgment, in 1874, U.P.C.M.R., Vol. 5 new series, (1875:459).

³ 31 October, 1864, U.P.C.M.R., Vol.20, (1865:23).

imminent kingdom of God and judgment.¹ It was the work of Robb in various outlying areas, and of his predecessor Zerub Baillie at the Ikorofiong station, that caused some of the relatively junior members of the mission to realize that their preaching could and should develop in new directions to be effective.

2.2.2.4.1 Zerub Baillie at Ikorofiong

Soon after his arrival at Ikorofiong in November 1858, Baillie had adopted the standard approach employed earlier in the period of first contact in Creek and Duke Towns. This emphasised praying to the God who gives good things, and keeping the Sabbath, etc:

On going to the house of the chief...
I told him that I had come to Ikorofiong
not as a man of war, but as a man of peace....
Told him also that I wished to be on friendly
terms with him, and was desirous of coming
occasionally to tell him of the things of God.
Spoke to him a little of the greatness and
goodness of God, and of what He wishes us to do.²

On another occasion soon after, Baillie recounted:

...at the town meeting, we had the
Ibibio chief and between twenty and thirty of
his followers, all armed....Amongst other
things I spoke to them of the Sabbath, and how
it ought to be observed. When I had finished,
one of the Ikorofiong gentlemen asked me if it
would be right for the Ibibio people to play
to-day, as they had come in for that purpose. I
told them that it would be very wrong, but
that I had no power to keep them from doing it
if they wished. If, however, they did it,
I should be very sorry indeed, and furthermore,
their great God and Father would be very angry
with them. They then agreed to request them
not to play on that day, which request they

¹ Kerygmatic preaching themes include the call for repentance and belief in the Living God, all in the face of imminent judgment, as delivered on Mars Hill by Paul, in Acts 17:30-31.

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.14, (1859:153); January 1859.

complied with...¹

In Ikorofiong, Baillie did not follow his tendency to convince people in first contact preaching situations of sin and the need for a saviour.² Yet he interpreted the lack of response in Ikorofiong in these early days as insensitivity, citing the prevalence of sin in the community as the cause for resistance.³

By 1863 however, Baillie was relating his preaching more to local religious concerns. Indeed, such sermons as "why missionaries can't make rain" preached in July of that year, displayed a significant breakthrough in the development of mission preaching. Missionaries were more aware of the need to relate the message of the Gospel to meanings of life found within local religion.⁴ The chief came to Baillie when his own rain-maker had failed, and made supplication for the missionary to intervene so that their yams could grow. Baillie responded:

...I said I knew that his own rainmakers... only deceived him, in order to get presents from him. I said that I could not make rain either; that all these things were in God's hands; and that I had often told him in all our difficulties we should draw near to God, humble ourselves before him, and pray to him for help, instead of making and trusting in sacrifices and charms, all of which God disliked....He said he saw that; but still he

¹ Ibid., 154; February 1859.

² See U.P.C.M.R., Vol.13, (1858:22-3).

³ Indeed, in the early days of Baillie's ministry, he was prone to perceive resistance to the Word as a condition for which God would swiftly "flog" the recalcitrant. U.P.C.M.R., loc.cit.

⁴ See also U.P.C.M.R., Vol.18, (1863:200) for another example of this trend, when Baillie responded to a man using a "God dish", during the Usara feast of thanksgiving in July 1863.

would like if I would make a little rain for him;...[I told him] I would pray to him... that [God] would be pleased to send rain, that he and his people might have food. This was Friday, and on Saturday a good deal of rain fell.¹

Baillie's encounter with Ibibio chiefs on making rain also highlighted another breakthrough for the mission. As the chiefs became increasingly aware of the mission message, they began to discover irregularities and disappointments within their own religious tradition by comparison. This provided the mission with opportunities to speak about the power of their God, and demonstrate in contrast the inability of the local religion to satisfy the needs of the community.

Such compelling "power encounters" clearly commended the message of the missionaries to the Ibibio people. Yet also a new level of good-will was brought on by Baillie relating his message to their need--demonstrating that God could supply exactly the blessing that Ibibio religion could not provide. Here too, we find strong evidence to suggest that aspects of the Christian message were being appropriated for local purposes, without capitulation to the mission's full theological programme.

Zerub Baillie also encountered articulate reactions from adherents of the local religion indicating a highly developed sense of their own heritage. Indeed, the Ibibio began to assert and defend their religious beliefs, as they came to conceive them in distinction from the Christian teaching. We can discern such elements at work in the following exchange:

A few weeks ago they had their Usara...
(a kind of thanksgiving). On such

¹ Ibid., 199.

occasions they generally kill a goat, or fowl..., part of which they offer to God for giving them new yams, and to propitiate a continuance of his favour. Part of it they set aside in a corner dedicated to their departed fathers...This custom has been handed down amongst them from olden times--long before they had any intercourse with white men, and I suppose, is a remnant of that natural religion that we find among all nations...

...I told them that God did not wish such things; what he delighted in was the sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart....Into one house I entered just as a man was putting something into 'usan Abasi' (God's dish)....I asked him why he hadn't given up that fashion yet...He said he did these things because his father had done them; and then, turning to me, he asked me if I did not believe just as my father had believed...Yes... that was, however, because...he did not teach me to believe anything contrary to God's word. I said also, that our fathers did not always believe God's word and follow it. There was a time when our forefathers were quite as much given to those foolish things as the people of Ikorofiong; but God's word had shown them a more excellent way I wished to commend to him also. We thus endeavour...looking unto him who has the hearts of all men in his hand to turn them to himself.¹

Such positive preaching commended a "more excellent way" to the Ibibio, without stressing the evil of their local customs. It was certainly not without effect. Indeed, not long after, Christie relates that the hearts of a few at Ikorofiong "were turned to God" in December of 1863.² Baillie's preaching had not yet fully affirmed the local religion as a legitimate construct for assisting in the interpretation of the Gospel.

¹ Ibid.

² Christie (MSS:1863)

Nonetheless his teaching addressed local religious categories in ways not done before. Zerub Baillie's patient responses to the objections of his listeners, suggests that his attempts to relate his theological message to questions of legitimate concern within the culture, was a significant development of preaching in the Cross River region.

2.2.2.4.2 Alexander Robb: Lessons Learned in Preaching

Alexander Robb, Baillie's successor at Ikorofiong was also to learn some significant lessons in how to preach effectively to those outside of regular interaction with Europeans. Upon succeeding Baillie in 1869,¹ Robb himself quickly learned that new approaches were needed in Ikorofiong to preaching the Gospel:

Do not suppose that the Gospel ravishes those people, or meets welcome in their heart. Those who see the worst part of the home population sometimes speak of them as worse than the heathen. And so they are in as far as abused privileges make men worse than those who, with the same evil nature, have never had the same light. To preach the Gospel to such a people is a most difficult thing. True, it is not difficult to pour out sentences--European thinking clothed in negro words, but it may be to a great extent an unknown speech. Mr. Spurgeon, after an outburst of fervour which would go to the hearts of hundreds, would be baffled if he saw the negro listener here turning to some of his native assistants and asking, 'What is he saying?'²

Robb was met here with a number of queries about the meaning of his message. However, the main point of the passage was that by the mid 1860s it had begun to dawn on some of the

¹ Christie (MSS:1869).

² Goldie and Dean (1901:265); McFarlan (1946:42).

Calabar leaders that "European" categories of thought were still present within vernacular preaching. Moreover, these "European" thought constructions were sufficiently dissimilar to Efik-Ibibio patterns of speaking and ordering thought, that Robb recognized distortions in meaning as a distinct possibility.

Significantly, we can trace in one of Robb's sermons in 1874 his counter-measure to such distortion: he attempted as far as possible to respond to deeply felt concerns, relating his message to topics familiar to the Efik-Ibibio world-view. In August of that year, Ibibio representatives came to Robb to discuss how to get rain, because their ancestors had failed.¹ Robb proceeded to explain to them from the scriptures: "that God alone had command of sky and rain; that he used in Bible time to withhold rain in order to punish those who would not obey him; that God alone could help Ibibio at present; and that penitence, prayer, and patience were the three words I gave in the way of counsel to them."²

Robb's prescription for rain involved primarily a call for spiritual rather than social change; his exhortation to penitence called in so many words for conversion--an approach more likely to be found in the mission's preaching after the early 1860s. Yet this is also supplementary evidence that the response of the Cross River peoples in the phase up to 1880 was limited to adapting portions of the mission message which addressed local needs. Furthermore, some of these peoples had by this time

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.5 new series, (1875:391); It is conceivable that the Ibibio chiefs had come because of Baillie's earlier success in securing rain.

² Ibid.

discovered fundamental inadequacies in their religion to effectively relate to their perceived hostile spiritual world.

2.2.2.4.3 Changes in Preaching After the Publication of the Old Testament in 1868

With the completion of Alexander Robb's Old Testament translation in 1868, the comprehensive vernacular Bible provided a new stable foundation upon which the mission could base its theological appeals.¹ The use of an increased range of biblical material in the mission's teaching explains in large measure how the embryonic growth of the emerging church was supported from the late 1860s to 1880.²

While African response was sometimes viewed as insensitive and indifferent, the mission certainly recognized the initiative of the highly intelligent and gifted Efik leader Ukpabio, ordained in April of 1872.³ His aptitude and initiative in opening an out-station among the Ekoi in 1875, and forming a congregation at Adiabo in 1880, insured that the message of the Gospel received a most successful representation and hearing.⁴

So clearly, biblical teaching over the period 1858-1880 diversified and diffused widely. In 1878, the passing of the Hopkins treaty finally secured the kind of stable social environment conducive to the furthering of the Christian

¹ Christie (MSS:1868).

² Marwick (1897:524).

³ Christie (MSS:1872).

⁴ Christie (MSS:1875, 1880). Indeed, U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1872-3:320) catalogues the very systematic and theologically sophisticated doctrine the native preachers taught, indicating a high degree of motivation and understanding of the subtleties of the Christian message.

message.¹ The mission was then freed to concentrate its proclamation in the urban centres more upon teaching which would nourish the young and vulnerable churches. By 1880, the mission was therefore poised not only for a period in which the reception of the Gospel was considerable, but was also about to enter a phase of unprecedented territorial expansion.

2.3 The Representation of the Christian Message from 1880-1900

2.3.1 The Historical and Political Background to Expansion of the Gospel Amid a Changing Context, 1880-1900

After the Hopkins treaty of 1878, preaching for social change was not as necessary or prevalent in the urban areas of Creek and Duke Town. However, as the mission turned its attention north to the peoples up-river, the whole cycle of "first contact" teaching needed to be repeated: on trusting in the Creator God through prayer, sin and obedience in the face of the Law of God, and brief allusions to the provision of forgiveness offered in Jesus Christ. Moreover, these themes needed reinforcement from preaching aimed at highlighting the moral irregularities found in the social environment. The rural areas away from the river were inaccessible and still engaged primarily in agriculture--as opposed to the more commercially based economy of the urban areas. Some of these peoples had therefore not yet been exposed sufficiently to European traders to overthrow their local rural deities and associated practices, as had been done with the cult of Ekpenyong rather

¹ For a copy of the Hopkins treaty, dealing with such topics as twins human sacrifices, the esere-bean trial, widows, and the stripping of helpless women in the streets, see McFarlan , op.cit., 65-66.

early down in Calabar, as we saw in chapter one.¹ So the mission consequently felt that it was necessary laboriously to repeat the approaches first applied in urban Calabar in every new station or rural area.

This was truly a labour of love, however. For years the mission had struggled to maintain its base stations near the coast fully supplied with personnel; all the while, they entertained every hope that in God's timing a way forward into new people groups would open.² That time arrived during the decade of the 1880s. Under the sponsorship of King Eyo VII, the first Christian King of Calabar, Samuel Edgerly, jr. accompanied Prince Eyamba as together they attempted to convince the trading people of Umon in late 1880 of the practical benefits of having a mission church and school.³ Objections were raised by the Umon leaders on the grounds that "God's word causes twin mothers to enter town, God's word comes, they will have to destroy war-charms, and then their enemies will destroy them."⁴ Prince Eyamba responded worthily to their objections by arguing that "God's word is taught, not forced, and it brings brotherhood,

¹ See Simmons (1956:20), in which he maintains that among the Efik-Ibibio supernatural powers (ndem) are said to inhabit trees and stone out-croppings (rural areas), as well as pools and parts of the Calabar River; each town possesses a supernatural power which protects it and to which the people offer sacrifice. As we saw in chapter one, it is likely that Ekpongong was overthrown, not because Waddell and the mission preached so effectively against it, but because as "the God of the wood and growth" (Mbon in Hackett 1987:24), the commercial trading had rendered this cult associated with agriculture obsolete.

² McFarlan (1946:74).

³ Johnston (1988:24); U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2, 3rd series, (1881:181).

⁴ U.P.C.M.R., op.cit., 182.

and destroys war."¹ Such a studied articulation by the Efik prince clearly demonstrates how conversions to Christianity among the leadership of urban Calabar at this time were significant rather than superficial.

Edgerly then supplemented Eyamba's argument. He "spoke about God's love to man in the death of Christ, and the great value of man's soul, and the great joy in store for those who love Christ."² The response to Edgerly's preaching was solid. It must be said, however, that without Prince Eyamba's more sophisticated appeal to the value of God's word in bringing increased brotherhood and peace--precisely the argument to which Umon would respond--the mission's case could not have been so readily secured. Edgerly and company continued on with permission from Umon, and subsequently preached at Ikot Ana and Akunakuna, which proved to be the significant breakthroughs needed to open stations there.³ After a period of deliberation, Edgerly was able in 1881 to place Oboko Inyong Esien, a deacon from Creek Town, as the teacher in Umon, and Uda Afia was sent to begin work at Ikot Ana also.⁴

In both the pioneering and ongoing work of these important territorial expansions for the Calabar church, emerging Efik leaders played major roles. In addition to the workers mentioned above, Asuqua Ekanem enjoyed considerable success at Ikunetu, as he indicated by saying, "the custom of God makes progress, though

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ For details of preaching at Ikot Ana and Akunakuna, see U.P.C.M.R., op.cit., 343-344.

⁴ Christie (MSS:1881).

Satan tries to spoil it."¹ Other indigenous leaders whose contributions to expansion were indispensable, included the two elders ordained in November 1889 at Ikunetu to form a session there with the native minister,² as well as the placement of Itam Okpo Itam at Okurike and William George at Ebom in 1891.³ The last two decades of the nineteenth-century clearly marked a period of considerable and sustained contribution from numerous indigenous evangelists and ministers; this culminated in the installation of Ukpabio into the ministerial post at Creek Town on 2 November 1897, and the ordination of William George as the first native minister of the Duke Town congregation on 4 January 1900.⁴ With the opening of Umon and Ikunetu, not only did the role of indigenous preachers expand, but a period of significant up-river expansion for the Gospel at last began.

Many years of difficult work lay ahead for both Efik and Scottish preachers in the up-river locations, with numerous vacancies and replacements occurring due to death, which only increased until the end of the nineteenth century.⁵ And with the distractions of the Ross secession going on in Duke Town in

¹ November 1882, U.P.C.M.R., Vol. 4, 2nd new series, (1883:93).

² Christie (MSS:1889).

³ Christie (MSS:1891).

⁴ Christie (MSS:1897, 1900).

⁵ Johnston, *op.cit.*, 25-26; The trouble with staffing the up-river stations began as early as 1882, when it was necessary for Ekpe Nka to replace the deceased Oboko Inyong Esien at Ikot Ana. See Christie (MSS:1882). Umon was so unresponsive that it was ultimately abandoned, and Akunakuna was a most unhealthy environment for missionaries, and too was closed. Without the persistence of Efik preachers, the seed of Christian teaching could not have been sown in obedience, despite the various yields it produced.

1881,¹ it was necessary for new initiatives and missionaries to forge ahead to offset losses in personnel, church membership, and understanding of the Gospel.

The "new blood" soon arrived. In 1881, William S. Peebles and Alexander Cruickshank arrived to take up posts at Duke Town and Ikorofiong respectively.² In the following year Jamaica again contributed to the Calabar mission with the placement of Rev. H. G. Clerk at Creek Town and Rev. E. W. Jarrett at Duke Town.³ Clerk maintained his position in Creek Town, while in 1885 Jarrett was the first missionary to occupy Ikot Ana.⁴ Finally, James Luke arrived in 1885 and J. F. Gartshore in 1887. These opened respectively the Emuramura station on 3 May 1890, and the Unwana work among the Igbo in October of 1889.⁵ Coupled with Mary Slessor's celebrated initiative in Okoyong in August of 1888,⁶ the United Presbyterians in conjunction with dedicated indigenous leaders achieved

¹ Christie (MSS: 1881, 1882). A deputation was called from Scotland to settle a disagreement between Alexander Ross and William Anderson over the handling of the Duke Town congregation. After the deputation found against Ross, and decided to recall him, he seceded from the Church, taking a large number of members with him. The move had a way of confusing a large number of people with the thought that perhaps there were "Two Gods", doing no small violence to the unity and strength of the congregation. See also Goldie and Dean (1901:247), and especially Hackett (1988:70) who maintains that the church was eventually taken over by the Apostolic Church, after some connection with the Primitive Methodists and the Qua Iboe Mission.

² Christie (MSS:1881); Dickie (1894:82).

³ Christie (MSS:1882); Dickie, loc.cit.

⁴ Christie (MSS:1885); Dickie, op.cit., 84.

⁵ Christie (MSS:1885, 1887, 1889, 1890); Dickie, op.cit., 84, 95-96.

⁶ Dickie, op.cit., 96.

a remarkable territorial advance throughout the 1880s.¹ However, due to the harsh and isolated conditions, and the steady depletion of already scant resources of personnel² and finances, the penetration of the Gospel up-river was only gradual, at best, until the turn of the century.³

Another force altogether came to have serious effects on mission expansion. The steadily increasing colonial presence beginning in August 1884 with the agreement between the Calabar chiefs and the British Government to form the British Protectorate,⁴ soon changed the face of the Cross River. It was to provide many challenges, as well as opportunities for the mission's initiatives. In some ways, the attempt to establish colonial authority in the hinterland during the 'Scramble for Africa' caused some problems for the preaching of the Gospel; for the up-river peoples resented the Consul's authority, and interference only inflamed existing frictions among people groups.⁵ Moreover, such encounters with the power of the government seriously shook the confidence of the up-river peoples

¹ If further evidence is needed to support the assertion that the presentation of the Gospel in this period was clearly due to enormous amounts of under-appreciated indigenous initiative, we need only refer to Etim Offiong's opening of a school at Ikorofiong in 1883, quite independent of the mission. Rather than casting ill reflection on the mission, the fact that indigenous leaders felt the compunction to launch out in their own independent attempts at furthering education and the Gospel, meant that substantive conversions had been taking place. Christie (MSS:1883).

² Gartshore was removed from Unwana in 1890 due to sickness and invalided home, and Jarrett himself died at Ikot Ana in the same year. Christie (MSS:1890).

³ Johnston, op.cit., 25-26.

⁴ Christie (MSS:1884).

⁵ McFarlan (1946:79).

in their religious powers. This was particularly true as local religion became viewed as incapable of providing the protection and power of the European religious system.¹ The missionaries appeared up-river precisely during this time, and this perhaps explains why many people groups up-river accepted the message of Christianity: they identified the Christian message with the power of the colonial enterprise.² Yet at the same time, it was difficult for some of the peoples not to resist the the mission message on some level, perhaps because it was associated with the worst aspects of the colonial pacification.³ For example, throughout the 1880s, Claude Macdonald and his government officers probed along the rivers, burning or conciliating as temperament determined.⁴ The arbitrary treatment of various regions by the British colonial agents probably had much to do with the variety of responses registered to Christianity among the peoples of the region.

Where the up-river people were more receptive to mission teaching, it was because Christianity had been favourably contrasted with the perceived weaknesses of local religion. Examples are not hard to find. On 20 November 1884, Goldie preached at Uyenge in Atam, where the people responded that the missionary had come "to pay them a visit from God's side, that

¹ Johnston (1988:62-63).

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 64-66. This was especially true of the related Igbo clans of Edda, Unwana, Amaseri, and Afikpo. The Edda clans were in alliance with the Aros to the south, and could not have failed to reacted bitterly to the British military expedition which crushed Arochuku in 1901. See Johnston (1988:33-36).

⁴ Johnston (1988:33). The British presence only increased after Macdonald's appointment to High Commissioner in 1891.

is, from where God reveals himself, but how could they meet His requirements when they did not know Him."¹ Also along these lines was James Luke's encounter with the Boki people of Mkpoto in 1890. He recorded the moment by writing that "when we were telling the people of God's love and of Jesus, the chief said: 'we don't know Jesus; we lie here like dumb sheep.'"² Indeed, because the up-river peoples were unused to Europeans, the people discovered inconsistencies within their religion even before they fully internalised the Gospel; whereas it appears to have taken Duke and Creek Town until the period 1858-1880 to discover the first signs of any such irregularities, and it was perhaps much later, well into the period 1880-1900, before prolonged exposure to biblical teaching prompted any large-scale abandonment of the traditional religious system there. So the increasing colonial presence over the period, and its uneven nature had different effects on the up-river peoples and the urban areas on the coast. This proved for all concerned a two-edged sword. Nevertheless, the government initiative to establish contact and "protection" for the up-river peoples, ultimately served to encourage and support the mission in its expansion.

Against this historical backdrop, we can trace some marked development in the preaching of that Gospel among the "younger" generation of missionaries. As we shall demonstrate in this next section--and in chapter four--the preaching of the younger

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.6. 2nd new series, (1885:327).

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol. 11, 2nd new series, (1890:162).

missionaries developed away from the teaching patterns associated with the pioneer period of the mission. Apart from isolated instances, the older approach persisted in urban Calabar until the 1890s--due to the prolonged influence of the aging leaders Goldie and Anderson. We have at our disposal more samples of the up-river preaching after 1880 than the teaching done in Duke and Creek Towns in the same period. This is due to the fact that both the personnel and their challenges up-river were fresh, and therefore the preaching initiatives there were better documented; the up-river evangelistic interaction was simply more interesting and useful in encouraging church members in Scotland to support the mission. In order to demonstrate these and other contentions, let us then look at a number of the developments in the up-river preaching of the mission over the period. In doing so, we shall draw a comparison with the status and success of proclamation in Duke and Creek Town on the eve of the twentieth-century.

2.3.2 Up-River Preaching and Penetration of the Gospel, 1880-1900

2.3.2.1 William Peebles around Duke Town

The ministry of William S. Peebles in and around Duke Town, provides a suitable place to begin our investigation. By 1883, we can trace in his proclamation less open confrontation with culture for social change under threat of judgment, than was more characteristic of the early pioneer pattern of teaching. Instead Peebles emphasised the love of God providing a way of salvation for the soul. Indeed, on 22 March 1883, he ventured out to the farm of Adam Ironbar outside of Duke Town proper, and

delivered an address to a group of people gathered there on these very themes.¹ According to Peebles, there was an interest in such themes, as well as some curiosity about the motives of the missionaries:

I conversed nearly an hour on such topics as the love of God, the value of the soul, and the way of salvation. To these subjects they often recur in conversation both in farm and town. Adam says he cannot understand what the missionaries teach, and why they live and die in Calabar. He can, he says, understand the traders, but it seems as if we missionaries wandered in the bush impelled by mere foolhardiness and carelessness for our lives.²

In Peebles' address in the Calabar area, we can see an emphasis on God's love and salvation as benefits to the soul, rather than open denunciation of traditional customs. Yet we still can observe that the message had not been perceived as related to elements of need within culture, nor as being concerned with questions which the local world-view could not address. Adam, speaking perhaps for the people, admitted he found it difficult to make the connection between the message the missionaries brought, and the cost of bringing it. He did not understand the message, nor the motive, because neither had really touched concerns of the people in the Duke Town farms. Indeed, the puzzling nature of the message as it had been presented was the very reason that the people discussed it so much amongst themselves. This demonstrates that in the Calabar area at the beginning of the 1880s--despite some new emphasis in choice of themes--some Efik still perceived the mission's preaching as not adequately addressing basic concerns and values

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.5, 2nd series, (1884:305).

² Ibid.

of the community. In terms of the overall method and effect of preaching, this was much as it had been in the early days of the mission. The situation was virtually unchanged because young missionaries such as Peebles in Duke Town were still under the strong influence of Anderson. Disagreement with his methods, as we saw in the Ross affair, could have had serious consequences for any young missionary.¹ Since Peebles arrived in Duke Town in 1881, precisely during the secession proceedings, the effect of the affair could well have convinced him of the need to follow Anderson's lead closely.²

On another occasion, 24 March 1883, Peebles had an interchange with the chief of the "blood-men": slaves on the farms who banded together in a "blood" covenant as a sort of self-preservation society against human sacrifice and unfavourable Ekpe laws. In the personal discussion, the chief required Peebles to go over the fundamentals several times in order that he might "know the makara's (white man) God:

He had heard of our houses burning down, and wished to know how our God could be good, and allow such a thing...He showed us his God, a tree planted in a tub of earth, and said our God had one advantage over his...He had to make a new god every-time his house burned down, whereas our houses might be burned down fifty times, yet our God was always the same. Strange the heathen are so ready to acknowledge the folly of worshipping idols, yet so unwilling to give them up.³

¹ The Alexander Ross schism occurred over a disagreement between him and Anderson concerning the handling of the Duke Town congregation. See Goldie and Dean (1901:247); Christie (MSS:1881).

² Christie (MSS:1881).

³ Ibid.

Later in the same day, Peebles went to the king of Duke Town's farm, and was refused a meeting by the lord of the farm on the grounds that, "God's word was not a thing for farm slaves. It could only make them discontented."¹ In this remarkable exchange, we see a number of important developments, both in the mission's preaching and the indigenous response. First, we can discern a certain reluctance on Peebles part to confront local religious elements. Instead, he concentrated on presenting the "Good God" rather than concentrate on the God of judgment. Second, Peebles displayed here a new willingness to listen before he pronounced his message. In listening, he discovered that on these farms an awareness had begun to develop of the inadequacy of the local religion to make sense of the harsh world.

If this was so in the rural area surrounding Duke Town, how much more true it must have been with the inhabitants of Duke Town proper. Such evidence also suggests that the other urban centre, Creek Town, also came to conceive its local religion in contrast to Christianity; it too, therefore, had to confront fundamental limitations in its ability to relate the individual to the Ultimate. Indeed, Peebles seems to indicate in the record that this was a pervasive response. If so, then it was likely to have been equally--if not more so--the response in Creek Town.

Likewise, by listening, Peebles also learned one of the major objections in the rural area to accepting the Christian teaching: namely, fear of losing productive workers. Again, Peebles simply noted the objection. So while the local

¹ Ibid.

interpretation of the Gospel was noted, in 1883 it was not yet the time when those interpretations could be viewed as a legitimate intellectual framework through which the Efik could further consider the meaning of the Christian message.

2.3.2.2 E. W. Jarrett in Ikot Ana

Shifting up-river to Ikot Ana, we can discern some similar elements in the preaching of E. W. Jarrett. On a Sabbath in 1886 during a time when Ikot Ana was at war with two other towns, Jarrett had only three people show up for the service and the sermon. What happened illustrates again that new approaches had begun to emerge in the preaching of younger ministers working up-river:

At the close of the meeting I said to a man, 'Had I known there were not going to come out to hear God's Word better than that, I should have gone to another town.' His answer was, 'If it had not been for the good Word you are always telling us, you would see our town filled with heads.' This saying let me feel that the word was exerting some influence on the people.¹

Jarrett was indeed fighting a war against social evil. Yet the text above indicates that he fought that war more in positive terms, rather than in preaching condemnation. Indeed, the response of the man clearly demonstrates that Jarrett's Gospel was having an influence in establishing some Christian values: more love of neighbours, and the emergence of a more stable society built around the sometimes unseen strength of a small emerging church. The "good Word" of which the man spoke, could only have produced less internal strife among the community, had

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.8, 2nd new series, (1887:207).

it consisted of such elements. Although allegiance to the full Christian way of life had yet to take hold in Ikot Ana, we see here evidence of how non-Christian societies begin the conversion process: by selecting aspects of Christian teaching which resolve deeply felt tensions already experienced within their culture.

Jarrett's preaching had clearly transformed some social patterns. However, the penetration of the Gospel in terms Jarrett would have recognized as "conversion", had only just begun to take hold in Ikot Ana by 1886; there were less than five communicants at the station.¹ For the young missionary Jarrett, the next few years were difficult: "Ekpe" was blown on him in 1888 for saving twins, and he died soon afterwards in 1890.² Nonetheless, Jarrett's efforts at preaching the "good Word" were not totally without effect. For a handful of believers had been gathered before his death as the first converts at Ikot Ana, which after the turn of the twentieth-century quickly grew into church of over one-hundred members.³

2.3.2.3 J. F. Gartshore in Unwana

Further upstream, J. F. Gartshore arrived on 25 October 1888 to open the Unwana station.⁴ This station was held to be the key to the penetration of the Igbo clans of Edda, Ezza, and Uburu, as well as future expansion among the Aro people.⁵ In one of his first encounters with the people on 27 October, we can discern some elements of dialogue in his proclamation.⁶

¹ See statistics for Ikot Ana in Appendix II.

² Christie (MSS:1888, 1890).

³ See Appendix II.

⁴ Christie (MSS:1888).

⁵ McFarlan, op.cit., 77.

⁶ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.10, (1889:106).

In the episode, Gartshore first elicited responses to a number of broadly theological questions, and then applied his message:

[The questions posed were,] 'Where do you come from, and Where are you going?' At the close of each few sentences, as they are translated, a man rises...asks information or answers our questions...[he says] 'Our forefathers lived here, where they came from we cannot tell.' [Gartshore says,] 'But I know, for this book tells me.' And so I trace back until we come to the story of God creating Adam and Eve. On telling of the Fall, and its consequence, death--they say, 'You must point out that tree, and we will not eat of it.' A question is put to draw forth any tradition that might exist as to their origin, as to their colour, but all they say is, 'We cannot tell why we are black while you are white. Where are we going to? We cannot tell; the sun rises and sets, we know not whence it cometh or whether it goeth.' 'Again the book gives the answer: those who do right go to one place, where the people are all happy; those who do wrong, to another, where the people are not happy.' 'Yes, that is good, but we do not want to go to the bad place.' 'Then I have come from my own country to tell you how you can all go the happy place.' Here I tell of Jesus, the Guide, who wishes to conduct all people to God, who is ready even to be the guide of any who will follow.¹

Gartshore displayed a keen interest in the people's own perceptions of their origins and identity. But equally he sought to expose inadequacies the people perceived in their own local theology to deal with fundamental questions of life. Once these were exposed, the focus became as in the past, presenting the Creator God to whom prayer should be directed,² and the consequences of the Fall.

¹ Ibid.

² Immediately preceding our excerpt Gartshore described an interlude in which he prayed in front of the people, and told them, amid much laughter, that this was talking to God, and that God would hear him. Ibid.

In light of the Unwana leader's inability to articulate his people's religious views of their origin or destination, Gartshore offered the Bible to them as God's message concerning human origin and purpose. Christ was portrayed more in terms of a guide who brings purpose to the journey of life, rather than in terms of a highly developed view of sacrificial atonement or Christology. In this incident Gartshore exposed what appeared to be genuine areas of theological confusion in the Unwana self-understanding, to which he related the rudiments of the Gospel. Most significantly, Gartshore engaged in a dialogue which posed a critical question about the goal of the Unwana people's common history. He gained a good initial hearing, because Gartshore presented himself as one entrusted by God and the Christian tradition to share the Bible--in order for them to solve some of their own problems of identity.

Gartshore's preaching developed over the next year, manifesting a distinct propensity for lively exchanges of ideas. In light of such characteristics, Gartshore provides evidence of an exception to Okafor's comments that missionary preaching in Southeastern Nigeria was categorically intolerant and non-dialogical.¹ While Gartshore regarded some of the Igbo responses as insensitive, nonetheless, we see clear evidence from the following excerpt during 1889, that the Gospel was beginning to be addressed to the deeper concerns and fears of the people at Unwana:

...If there is one thought that haunts them,
it is that of death; if there is one desire
dominant in their breasts, it is to live

¹ Okafor (1981:31)

forever; if there is one thing more dreaded than all else, it is sickness....these are the anxieties of the natives....it is no wonder that much of their time is given to the performance of such rites...handed down by tradition, or that anything new should be sought after, in the hope that at last the elixir of life may be found....'Then you are a man of God (Mado Abasi): ask Him to keep away death from our town'--'We will tell you a better way. God sent death into the world because men did what was wrong, but He also has told us how we can have everlasting life.' Here follows the recital of the simple story of redemption, and of life through Jesus. 'But this life is after death; we do not want that, we wish to live in our own town and not die, that word does not satisfy us.¹

Here Gartshore had begun to discover objections to his theological arguments from within Igbo world-view. While his preaching was beginning to relate to critical questions of life in Unwana, he still was not fully addressing questions as the people themselves would have conceived them there.

But Gartshore later became aware of the Igbo interest in staving off sickness in this life, in order to enjoy fully the benefits of communal living in the place of their fathers.² Through this awareness, his message began to find more place with the people of Unwana. At a later date, Gartshore related that:

One day...we were led to refer to the subject of removing sickness. When disease is prevalent, goats are sacrificed on the ground, in the belief that this act removes the disease from that district...'But how does the killing of the goat take away the illness?' 'An enemy has put a charm on the ground, which cause sickness to come; this

¹ Ibid, 335.

² See the response of a man to Gartshore's teaching on Jesus as Guide for eternal life, who says, "I do not know about that God, I do not know about living up there; but I want to live here where my fathers have lived." Ibid., 336.

offering counteracts the influence of this charm.... When a man is ill we send for the charm-doctor (Dibia), who comes and makes a charm, which the sick man put round his neck...then the man gets better.' 'This Dibia has now power...Listen; you are ill, you are wearing just now a charm given you by this man...it has failed; now what do you do? You come to the dispensary, get medicine, and in a few days, you are better. Is that not so?' 'Yes.' 'Then why not kill a goat... and never mind the white man's medicine?' 'The medicine is good, and so we come for it.' 'Then the Dibia is no good, he cannot keep sickness away... If you know that this medicine is good because you have tried it, why not do the other thing that we have been telling you? Throw away that wooden god that sits in the house in the market-place, and listen to what the living God speaks to you in His Bible.' Our fathers gave us this god...we do not know any other; you must tell us about the God who speaks in the Book.'¹

Gartshore clearly based his argument for social change on a critique of the effectiveness of Unwana religion to deliver the all important blessings of health. We can see that Gartshore found it unnecessary to preach for social change by strongly denouncing traditional customs, especially when the superiority of the message (and the medical technology) could be demonstrated in such a tangible way as increasing the health of the community. This surely provided incentive for the people of Unwana at least to give ear to these doctrines--which is what they did.² After achieving only a marginal number of converts by the end of the nineteenth-century, Unwana experienced marked growth in its out-stations during the confusion and change of the British pacification of the region of the first decade of the twentieth-century.³ This only further disclosed the weakness of the local powers in the face of the white man's

¹ Ibid., 35-36.

² Ibid., 36.

³ See Appendix II.

military might, and by extension their religious message.¹ Gartshore was removed from the station due to sickness in May 1890, and forced to return to Scotland.²

2.3.2.4 James Luke at Emuramura (Akunakuna)

Unwana was the northernmost mark of territorial expansion on the Cross-river by 1890. The evangelistic ministry of James Luke at Emuramura (Akunakuna), which began on 3 May 1889, ultimately represented the most progressive preaching *approach* thus far realized by the United Presbyterian mission.³ The mission received indispensable support from the Consul of the protectorate established in 1885, and every assistance from chief Ebok; nevertheless Emuramura held many difficult challenges for the pioneer Luke, and it proved to be a most inhospitable location.⁴ Luke met the challenges there and in the surrounding areas with a certain verve. Moreover, he also possessed a disposition for careful observation and analysis which enabled him to develop an appreciation for the unfulfilled cultural needs as the people perceived them. He was thus able to relate the Gospel to them in ways that minimized objections:

The whole town [Ikot Ana]...labours under an ever present fear as to the powers of the unseen, and a soul-depressing superstition. And curious to say, they look to sacrifice to save them. Offered chickens are often seen on the bush and forest paths...to sacrifice and offer according to the instructions of the Abiaddon or sorcerer. Ours is to point this people to Him who put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself.⁵

¹ Johnston (1988:63).

² Christie (MSS:1890).

³ Christie (MSS:1889).

⁴ McFarlan (1946:79-80).

⁵ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.9, 2nd new series, (1888:184).

Thus Luke conceived his preaching task as offering a way of positive escape, by implicitly drawing attention to the love of God.¹ This method replaced condemnation of social and religious structures through appeals to the threat of imminent judgment.

Evidence of Luke's appreciation for the initiative of local persons in securing proper translations can be seen during another one of Luke's many preaching tours to the outlying areas from Emuramura:

...spoke about the beginning of things and about Jesus. All were intensely interested: while speaking of the flood, a man rose hastily and went out...he came back with a better interpreter. This was very encouraging...²

It is evident that Luke was aware that concepts can be distorted through multiple translations, and he felt dependent on the skills of his faithful assistants.³ Indeed, Luke clearly held the view that the preaching of the Gospel up-river, despite increasingly better techniques of relating to local culture, could not have proceeded without the unheralded translation work of countless indigenous workers.

The clear breakthrough in Luke's recognition of the need to relate the Gospel to the up-river world-view came during a evangelistic tour around the Adyoso area in 1890. Translation problems had again obscured the message of how God had revealed Himself as Creator, Redeemer, and Father; for Luke complained of having found not a "penny-space of common ground, mentally,

¹ Ibid., 253; Luke records in 1888 that he "...spoke to them [at Okurike] about God and His love--one of the house boys interpreting.

² Ibid., 308.

³ Ibid., 309.

between the speaker and his hearers."¹ Due to the wise counsel of his assistant, an interesting question and answer format developed, in which it was revealed to Luke that the people there did not share his division of where theology ended and materialism began:

From one of the men...came a question which seemed to throw our points of view as widely apart as East from West...'Tell us, Oh white men, what you would advise us to do when an elephant breaks into our banana ground and lays it in waste?'...do you find any hint of theology in that question? It was sheer materialism...'We would advise you to pump lead into the brute!' The great audience heard us with obvious regret, and shook its head, which was wiser than ours...Till then and for a little while after, we were much exercised in our minds as to where was the precise point of failure.

[In the next town] We told our message, which was received with polite indifference which means: That is not what we came to hear. ...they broke the silence with this apparently easier one: 'Tell us, white men, what you would do to the man who rises in the darkness of the night, creeps into another man's house, stabs him to death, and comes forth crying, "I am not responsible, it was ju-ju?"' (Ifot, or Fate)

Supposing this question to be less concerned with the religious than with the social life of the community, I gave the only answer warranted by our social civilization--and gave it with some heat: 'We would hang him from the nearest tree!' Again the head-shake of disappointment and the polite silence; but we could hear the falling of the scales [ours]; we had failed to see the spiritual significance of their problems...we had not got to the heart of the problems that perplexed the peoples of this region....Of course it is a theological question, and has little to do with agricultural pests or society's criminals. (The effects bulked so largely we glimpsed not the cause) ...both questions meant this: 'We live under the oppressive power of evil spirits. You bring news of the Good Spirit; how would you apply His power to overcome and cast out these powers

¹ Luke (1929:142).

of evil which infest our fields and enfeeble
our life?'¹

Luke apparently learned that day what the Good news was for those people who lived around Adyoso. He discovered that there were clear reasons for which the Gospel might be deemed irrelevant, based upon local religious logic. Therefore he found that his preaching needed to be pitched towards the best understanding of indigenous wisdom and spiritual insight. Indeed, the episode shows how mission preaching in its best sense, depends not so much on speaking as on listening. Because Luke listened, he came away from the encounter with a sharper perception of the power of the "Good Spirit" he preached. Furthermore, in the last sentence of this excerpt, Luke recognized how Christian teaching on the Holy Spirit could conquer the fears of local religion--which held that spiritual powers cause misfortune in society.² In the future, his teaching would concentrate even more upon that "Good Spirit": the Holy Spirit.³

Clearly, Luke's own perceived failure to properly gauge the the questions as theological rather than materialistic or social prompted a new awareness in him. It led him to recognize that local religious perspectives were not foolish, but contained wisdom capable of throwing light on how better to present the

¹ Ibid., 143-146.

² Enang (1976:22).

³ Ibid., 161-162; see the Note on the Holy Spirit on that page. The note suggests that the Spirit came to figure more largely in Luke's theological message. Luke also gave an address on "Indwelling of the Holy Spirit" at a Creek Town Revival Conference in April of 1905. See United Free Church Missionary Record, (1905:326).

message of Christian hope. One commentator, Johnston, has argued that Luke represented the whole of the nineteenth-century Scottish approach to preaching, when he says "we do not interfere with religious practices".¹ However, taking into account the prevalent dismissal of the existence of Efik religion among the first pioneers of the mission--as we demonstrated in the first chapter--Johnston's view here can not sustained. Luke's ministry as depicted in our sources represents a marked development away from the pioneer preaching of the 1840s--because he eventually allowed local religion and culture to pose the questions to which his preaching responded. Indeed, his was the most significant recognition thus far, that a reformulated interpretation of the Gospel based on local religious categories could be a positive development; not only for Africans, but for the missionary preacher and the effectiveness of his ongoing ministry.

Luke's use of dialogue also runs counter to Okafor's argument that missionary records demonstrate missionary preaching was intolerant and non-dialogical in 'Southeastern Nigeria'.² Along with his more studied approach to culture--even making use of early anthropological insights³--Luke came to appreciate some aspects of up-river thought as possessing elements of

¹ Luke, op.cit., 75, cited in Johnston, op.cit., 296.

² Okafor (19??:31).

³ Luke, op.cit., 197.

revelation pointing to a loving God.¹ Indeed, Luke's preaching stressed the Holy Spirit, and the sacrificial love of God the Father in his son Jesus Christ. Through this, Luke avoided strident condemnation of culture, and sought to find compatibilities between customs and biblical patterns of revelation. On 3 February 1891, Luke recounted:

On passing through Eboks yard this morning and seeing a young ram tied firmly, head down, to a ju-ju tree, a living sacrifice offered to a God they call Ekpe-yon [Ekpenyong], to prevent Ebok's sickness having a fatal issue. How often have I told both chief and people of the Lamb of God who was crucified on a tree for their sins.²

This excerpt suggests that Luke had not fully discontinued the "law and grace" format while presenting the Christian message to the people around Emuramura, along with its affirmations of humanity's fallen state and the need for sacrificial redemption. Yet alongside this approach, Luke also tried to leave his listeners with the thought that Jesus was their ever-present and all-powerful friend.³ His efforts in this direction were well received, with many responses similar to that of the chief of Okurike, when he said, "Your word and your work are good. Go forward."⁴ And indeed Luke did go

¹ Luke's preaching provides further evidence that Okafor's following view cannot be fully sustained without qualification:

It did not seem to occur to them [missionaries in Southeastern Nigeria] that the whole commensal, social, and cultural edifice would come crashing down if they failed to see traditional Religion as an "ally". They failed!

Okafor (1981:32).

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.12 2nd new series, (1891:159).

³ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.11 2nd new series, (1890:160).

⁴ Ibid.

forward, throughout the upper reaches of the Cross River, and widely into the regions east of Emuramura with the Gospel.¹ But while Emuramura was base for the penetration of the Gospel into the region, it soon exacted its toll on Luke's health--he was invalided out soon afterwards, in 1894--and also the health of his successors suffered, most notably, William Marwick.² After only marginal growth with never more than eight full communicants, the station fell permanently vacant in 1900.³

2.3.2.5 Up-River Preaching by Younger Missionaries

Throughout the 1890s, other younger and newer members to the mission displayed in their preaching developments similar to Luke's. Mary Slessor preached at Okoyong, yet she clearly emphasized her role as president of the Native Court over her work as an evangelist; the emergence of a strong church had to wait for her replacement Mina Amess.⁴ A strong sense of social justice likewise pervaded her work, reinforcing her calls for faith.⁵ Moreover, Slessor achieved new levels of identification with the people of her community. She clearly employed both her life and her teaching in vigorous ways to relieve oppression--especially that of women.⁶

Examples exist over the period of a marked shift towards preaching on themes more closely related to "The Kingdom of

¹ See map in inset of Luke, op.cit.

² McFarlan, op.cit., 87, 89; Christie (MSS:1894)

³ Ibid.; Christie (MSS:1900). See also Appendix II.

⁴ Johnston (1988:24).

⁵ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.10 2nd new series, (1889:75).

⁶ In one of her Bibles where St. Paul advocates subjection of wives to husbands, she scribbled in the margin, "Na! Na! Paul, laddie. This will not do." See Hackett (1985a:257).

God"--where the emergence of a Christian society was linked loosely to the presence and witness of the often very weak church. Ebenezer Deas spoke of "many opportunities of sowing the good seed of the kingdom of God" in November of 1893, with people greatly pleased... to hear about his God."¹ Likewise he approached complex problems such as Ifot and warfare from the position that, "God and all men of God love all men, and do good to all"; his approach suggested that peace among the warring up-river peoples was an important cultural need, which would be secured with the establishment of a Christian society.² Deas nevertheless recognized that legitimate objections were being voiced to the gospel: did this new message address the community's concerns for Ifot and warfare? He responded seriously to the objections by suggesting that the Christian message had profound implications for the ruptures in their societies. We can infer from this evidence that the local context was coming to affect the content of Deas' preaching.

Among these newer missionaries--many of them operating up-river--a new approach was apparent: they left to their audience the primary responsibility of relating the Christian message to their own social customs and concerns. One George MacDonald was asked by Nyanga, the Unwana chief's eldest son, whether the son of a chief should continue to participate in "heathen" rites by shooting a cow as instructed by local custom; MacDonald told him his feelings on the subject but left the decision to him, and the boy got no reprisals when he refused on his own initiative to

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.16, 2nd new series, (1895:13).

² Ibid; also, U.P.C.M.R., Vol.15, 2nd new series, (1894:42).

perform the act.¹ This showed that antipathy towards Unwana religion by 1893 was much less than previously. To illustrate this, we can note an incident with William George, an indigenous evangelist--later to become the pastor of Duke Town parish in 1900; he confronted the people of Ebom with a choice when an abioidong came to play "ju-ju tricks" in 1891.² George said he "was called by the chiefs and sent by God's people and God Himself to speak his Word to them", and then proceeded to ask the people to choose between him and the abioidong--and they sent the indigenous religious practitioner away.³ There is clear evidence to suggest, then, that people up-river were being allowed the opportunity to choose if, and how, the Gospel would be related to their needs.

With the able work of such men as William George, it is also clear that the penetration of the Gospel--and the ongoing teaching necessary for the up-river people to successfully apply the message to their greatest concerns--fell largely to indigenous workers. Stirring addresses were given by such elderly teachers as Egbo Jack, who exhorted the people of Ukim-Ita in 1897 "to lay hold of the present opportunity, as once again they had the light of the Gospel in the their midst."⁴ Such teaching confirms that strong indigenous initiative was operating in spreading Christian teaching in the Cross River region during the final years of the nineteenth-century. And of course, as the work of indigenous preachers increasingly took

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol. 14, 2nd new series, (1893:265).

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol. 13, 2nd new series, (1892:185-186).

³ Ibid.

⁴ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.19, 2nd new series, (1898:153).

centre stage, the concerns of the up-river areas began to act upon the content of the mission message.¹

2.3.2.6 Up-river Preaching in Contrast with Duke and Creek Towns

In contrast to the more flexible approaches up-river, the theological presentation of the Gospel down-river in Duke and Creek Town went on almost as it had done in the pioneer period.² This was so in part because of the long shadows of influence cast by the aging pioneers. Goldie was still exercising considerable active leadership in the Creek Town mission right up to his death in 1895.³ Indeed, Goldie's concern with the rum trade and consumption can be seen mirrored in a younger missionary, W. T. Weir, who pointed out "the sin and curse of drinking" to those intoxicated at Efut on a trip there in July 1896.⁴ Weir had worked closely with Goldie for two years in 1893 and 1894 in Creek Town, and clearly was under his influence.

Even in the urban areas of Calabar, the teaching of the mission had been significantly distorted in the perception of one segment of the population--the poor illiterates. For them,

¹ The use of indigenous preachers as the prime agents up-river was discussed as early as 1868 in the U.P.C.M.R., 1868. As Johnston, op.cit., 27, suggests, see also Andrew Somerville's *Lectures on Missions and Evangelism*.

² Goldie's same pioneer approach, calling for the throwing away of idols, was evident in a number of preaching encounters in November 1884. See U.P.C.M.R., Vol.6, 2nd new series, (1885:300-303, 326-329). In these proclamations, there is no evidence whatsoever to suggest the context had come to influence the content and emphasis of Goldie's proclamation. If change was not apparent in 1884, then none would be forthcoming in 1895, as Goldie aged further.

³ Christie (MSS:1895).

⁴ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.18, 2nd new series, (1897:18).

the Gospel had necessarily remained very rudimentary, based on oral transmission of teaching that could be practically applied to secure their greatest needs: blessings of health and protection. Indeed, the early translations of mission preaching even withheld certain concepts of egalitarianism from the servile members of the society.¹ Of course, due to Goldie's broadly based biblical teaching, the literate of Creek Town had been amply exposed to the full range of the biblical material. Such prolonged exposure to Christian teaching, and the continued resistance of some among "the depressed classes" at Creek Town, moved J. T. Dean to meditate:

The present life bulks so largely as to almost entirely exclude the eternal life. And the story of God's love seems to awaken no response in their nature the sacred life of Christ does not even seem to arouse their wonder. The class is so far down that hopes of rising would never seem to occur in them.²

Here is key evidence to suggest that in the Calabar towns, the pioneer patterns of proclamation, which minimised Efik religion, were still being offered in Creek Town in the early 1890s. The fact that Dean was surprised that the story of God's love and the sacred life of Christ were not interesting to the poorer classes of Creek Town Efik, indicates that such themes must have been relatively new initiatives; their rejection by the urban poor could hardly have been surprising to Dean if the message of God's love had been consistently presented and perceived for years. As late as 1893, because of persistent illiteracy, it is plausible that the urban depressed classes had

¹ Nair (1977:277).

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.15, 2nd new series, (1893:89).

only heard certain aspects of the mission's message characteristic of the early pioneer period: namely, the call to throw away old customs and to obey teachings on the moral law. Those without access to education, obviously still a significant number by 1893,¹ would have been able to assimilate only basic teaching which stressed such practical themes as moral obedience, and the securing of blessings through prayer to a Creator God. As we shall see later, these ideas were in some ways not altogether different from local patterns of belief. Only the minority who had by then obtained a mission education could be initiated into the further subtleties of the Christian message, which included more abstract theology such as Dean points out: eternal life, and the story of God's love in the history of Christ. Until this time then, for the majority of the people of Creek Town and Duke Town as well, the Gospel could well have been perceived as a slight variation on their local religion--with perhaps a stronger emphasis on moral prohibition. This may well have been the perception of the Christian proclamation during the very considerable growth of Christian response in urban Calabar by 1893.² The fact of conversion among increasing numbers of people in Calabar was confirmed by Goldie in January 1893, when

¹ Shepherd (1980:315) maintains that the effects of the mission did not directly touch the rural slaves until the late 1850s, which suggests that only the beginning of education had been embarked upon for the rural slaves around the major towns at that time. Though certainly some urban slaves had acquired literacy even prior to the missionaries, it is highly inconceivable that only thirty years on, the majority of Duke and Creek Town slaves--who had only recently been under significant oppression from the free-men--would have been literate.

² See Appendix I.

he stated, "Here in Calabar all things are quiet, the Gospel gradually gaining adherents."¹

After 1895 and the death of Goldie and Anderson, the full responsibility of the mission fell on the younger leaders.² Understandably, it became their desire to employ teaching to counter the older approaches that ignored the concerns of local world-view and discounted the revelation to be found within the local religious beliefs.³ But even more significantly, in order to further expose the depressed urban classes to the biblical message, the younger leaders soon embarked upon an ambitious education campaign.⁴ Without such an expanded service, the Gospel appeared doomed to be merely a legalistic, ahistorical religious system designed to secure blessings from God--with little reference to the redemption of the individual or community, nor to the emergence into the kingdom of God. It was for these reasons that the mission initiated ambitious expansion of schooling after 1895 and particularly after the

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.14, 2nd new series, (1893:120).

² Christie (MSS:1895).

³ Taylor argues (1980:222) that both Anderson and Goldie had rested on their laurels and earlier achievements. He also maintained that clashes between the younger and older missionaries intensified up until the pioneers' deaths in 1895. As we have seen, the various perceptions of local religious concerns within the preaching of the pioneers and the younger missionaries was a major component in their differences.

⁴ Ibid., 206.

British "pacification" which ensued from 1900.¹ It is ironic that the mission intended to inculcate biblical teaching into the life and thought of the Cross River region by this further educational expansion. Instead the mission became so overexpanded and dependent on the colonial apparatus due to their limited funds and personnel, that their evangelism suffered.² Soon after the beginning of the twentieth-century, missionaries were pressed into the role not only as administrators of vast areas targeted for educational and evangelical enterprise, but as agents and reinforcers of the colonial enterprise as well.³

2.4 The Status of the Mission and its Evangelistic Enterprise at the turn of Twentieth-Century

At the close of the nineteenth-century, the future of the Calabar mission was in some ways much in doubt. Despite steady growth, especially in Duke and Creek Towns after 1880, many within the United Presbyterian Church had called attention to a lack of growth in the mission relative to other missions in the church.⁴ But this was not new. The mission had endured periods of chilling relations with the Foreign Mission Committee in the late 1870s due to lack of what the period defined as tangible results--statistical growth of converts and geographical

¹ Ibid. The Niger Coast Protectorate became the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria on 1 January, 1900, with Sir Ralph Moor appointed High Commissioner. In the following year the Arochuku expedition was launched to destroy the "long ju-ju" of the Aros, a source of slave trading and instability in the region, which was completed in March 1902. See Christie (MSS:1900-1902).

² Taylor, loc.cit.; Johnston (1988:37, 83).

³ Taylor, loc.cit.; Johnston, loc.cit.

⁴ U.P.C.M.R., Vol. 18, 2nd new series, (1897:143).

expansion. With the breakthroughs of Edgerly at Umon and Slessor at Okoyong, the Calabar mission won the all important public relations battle by securing some significant geographical expansion--thereby managing to stave off its fiercest critics. However, it had not by 1900 achieved the kind of grand statistical success dreamed of by the Foreign Committee and the ardent supporters of the mission, which they felt was forthcoming after almost 55 years of faithful support and sacrifice from all parties concerned.

Public relations was not the only problem for the Calabar mission at the turn of the twentieth-century. The United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church, which had been moving towards union for a number of years, finally achieved it so on 31 October 1900.¹ It was not clear at that time whether the mission might prove to be a low priority for the new church. However, the new United Free Church continued with a strong commitment to missions in general, and to Calabar in particular.² Soon however, the U.F. Church became embroiled in bitter and protracted litigation with the dissenting minority in the merger, the "Wee Frees", who claimed rights to Free Church property, and who were ultimately successful in stripping the U.F. Church of a significant portion of its assets.³ Due to overspending of budgets and other financial strains on the Foreign Mission Committee, the resources available to the Church were considerably less during the first decade of the twentieth

¹ Christie (MSS:1900); Burleigh (1960:366-368).

² Taylor, op.cit., 256.

³ Burleigh (1960:368); Johnston, op.cit., 37.

century.¹

With the coming of colonialism, vast changes were set into motion within the Calabar context which had a profound effect on the role of the missionary, and brought major implications for preaching style and content in the years after 1900. The colonial presence meant that many of the peoples of Southeastern Nigeria, especially the Efik, were a captive audience. Clearly, without the British conquest and penetration, it would have been most difficult to open such major stations as Arochuku, Itu, Ikot Obong, Ohafia, and Uburu.² The force of these changes, while providing opportunities for increased expansion for the mission, especially throughout Ibibio-land and the southern Igbo country, also relegated the mission to a very insignificant junior partner in the push for social reform.³

But the ease of expansion for the mission, in light of its financial and personnel limitations, was not to come without a price. The nature of the open environment was ripe for expansion. Since the mission so eager to prove its effectiveness to its critical supporters, it could not ignore the possibility of that expansion. However the volatile environment left the mission with a problem on its hands. The mission was organized to be effective on a personal basis more suitable to the pre-colonial era; and some within the mission feared the new situation--which required relying heavily upon colonial support

¹ Ibid. See also the *Missionary Record of the United Free Church*, U.F.C.M.R., (1903:261).

² Johnston, op cit., 58.

³ Taylor, op.cit., 229-331.

--would compromise its evangelistic campaign.¹ The mission could not possibly exploit the opportunities by stationing a Scottish missionary at every station. The new challenges thus gave rise to a new organisational structure, the Mission Council, in 1901.² It superseded the Presbytery system as the prime governing body of the local mission which had hitherto included the leadership of native and missionary alike; effectively the shift had the result of devolving power largely back into expatriate hands. The reorganization was designed to support the rapid expansion of the church, and the missionary head of a station, who had been the minister of the congregation, was now suddenly transformed into the District Missionary.³ The District Missionary oversaw the growing network of churches, acting something like a bishop, administering the work of schools and churches maintained largely by indigenous workers.⁴

Ironically, this very expansion rendered it difficult for the missionaries to relate their message extensively to the culture.⁵ Clearly evangelism suffered, and became a secondary priority behind administration, as the race to open schools and provide education--both religious and secular--ensued.⁶ Such a shift marked the abdication of social reform to the agenda of the government. It is not surprising therefore that religious and cultural reform was not stressed as cogently in the meagre records of mission preaching after the turn of the century.

¹ Taylor, op.cit., 231.

² Christie (MSS:1901).

³ Johnston, op.cit., 83.

⁴ Ibid., 83-84.

⁵ Ibid., 306-7, and 83.

⁶ Taylor, op.cit., 264, 273.

The coming of colonialism to the Cross River region, and the overexpansion of the church had another, even more significant, by-product. Although the dominance of the District missionaries was complete, the system depended fully on the village schoolmasters, who were faithful indigenous workers who also exercised ministerial duties as preachers.¹ So although the ecclesiastical authority was concentrated in the hands of expatriate missionaries, the actual responsibility for the evangelical enterprise after the turn of the twentieth-century was more squarely with local leaders than ever before.

2.5 Conclusions

Looking briefly over the entire period of our study, it may appear somewhat surprising that as the missionaries expanded territorially, we can discern a corresponding and ever increasing weakening of both their social reform and evangelistic agendas. Furthermore, it is most ironic, that as the mission was increasingly unable to directly influence the church and society within the Cross-River region, a resultant up-surge in response to the representation of the Gospel can also be detected.

First, as the preaching for social reform passed increasingly during the early 1850s into broader biblical teaching supported by the vernacular translations of the 1860s, the first significant ideological response was registered from the Efik. Clearly, the balanced presentation of both social and religious reform provided a foundation for the transition into

¹ Johnston, *op.cit.*, 85.

a broader emphasis on biblical teaching and response experienced from 1858-1880.

We have seen that the missionary view of local religion and culture became less hostile from 1880-1900. This had the effect of encouraging preaching to be related more towards, rather than against culture. Indeed, while the proclamation of the mission was directed less towards forcing cultural change, the social reform agenda was also slowly taken over by the treaties and responsibilities of the Protectorate. It was during this period that the first widespread receptivity to the Gospel in the region was recorded.

In the period following the turn of the twentieth-century, the mission overexpanded and diversified into education, in conjunction with the occupation and pacification of the region by the British. This severely limited the mission in two ways. First, the colonial presence considerably reduced the impact of the mission in the area towards social reform. Secondly, the need to administer the many schools and churches in the large geographical areas under Mission Council organization, meant the eclipse of the missionary evangelist by the District Missionary. The shift to the administrative role of District Missionary for the Scottish missionaries effectively diminished their opportunity for evangelistic initiatives. This consequently sparked the increased responsibility of countless unheralded local evangelists to preach and teach "their" Gospel to the people of the region. It was in this period, when missionaries were least in the pulpit, that the Presbyterian Church in the Cross-River area enjoyed its most unprecedented growth; albeit,

such growth must be attributable to both the needs and initiatives of the local religious adherents within the volatile colonial environment. Indeed, it was perhaps because the mission had earlier been relatively effective in equipping the Calabar saints to make disciples of their own "nation", that such growth was obtained without the contribution of much missionary proclamation.

It would seem that the movement from each phase to the next marked an important change of emphasis in preaching. Moreover, each phase saw a considerable scaling back in the role of the missionary evangelist in the affairs of either the church or society, or both. It is perhaps not insignificant, that as the missionaries tried to be increasingly vigorous in expansion, they were forced to give up some measure of their autonomy. In so doing, the way was cleared for countless Efik, Ibibio, and Igbo to "work out their own salvation in fear and trembling"--in the form of a truly independent church and society.

Section II.

Historical and Theological Perspectives on the Development of United Presbyterian Mission Preaching in the Cross River Region

Chapter 3

The Scottish Ecclesiastical and Theological Background to the Preaching of the Calabar Mission

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will begin to examine some of the influences upon the theological content of Cross River preaching. In order better to understand the development of the theological initiatives in Calabar, we will first attempt to trace major Scottish historical and theological antecedents which would have influenced the missionaries in their choice and emphasis of preaching material. In this connection, we will follow the rise of the Secession and Relief Churches, as well as developments in their preaching and theology. We do so in order to properly assess their theological contributions to what was to become the United Presbyterian Church. Then we shall briefly attempt to discover some theological distinctives of the United Presbyterian Church. This will be done by examining the nature and development of theological education in the United Secession and the United Presbyterian Church. Lastly, we shall attempt to trace the outline of how changes in theology affected Scottish Evangelical preaching throughout the nineteenth century. By placing the theology of the U.P. Church into the context of these confessional developments, we can gain a better view of the theological and preaching influences inherited by the missionaries who initially went out to evangelise the Cross River area.

3.2 Preaching in the Secession and Relief Churches of Scotland: Influences on the United Presbyterian Mission to Calabar

In the view of later United Presbyterian commentators, the origins of the United Secession Church lie in preaching.¹

¹ Blair (1888:24): see also Woodside (N.D.:145).

Ebenezer Erskine's sermon at Stirling on 10 October 1732, ignited a Secession from the Established Kirk, which ultimately formed into the Associate Presbytery in 1733. He preached on Psalm 118:22, "The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner."¹ In the sermon Erskine testified against "the enforcement of patronage on a reclaiming people", and particularly against the Act of Assembly the previous year which gave it the right of settlement of ministers in vacant parishes.² The importance of preaching during the period is illustrated by the fact that copious notes were taken, and used as evidence when the sermon was submitted to the Synod of Perth and Stirling to judge its most objectionable features.³ After Erskine was censured, fifteen others of the Synod protested; later, when Erskine and his supporters appealed to the General Assembly, the Moderate party opposed Erskine and threatened him with suspension if he "transgressed" the Act of Assembly.⁴ In November 1733, Erskine and "The Four Brethren" were declared to be no longer members of the Church.⁵ On 5 December 1733, at a wayside inn at Gairney Bridge, near Kinross, the Secession was born as the Associate Presbytery was formed.⁶

In 1747, a split occurred among the Associate Presbytery. It erupted over a disagreement concerning the acceptability of a clause within the Burgess Oath administered by the Civil

¹ Ibid., 24.

² Ibid.

³ Blair (1888:24-24); Woodside (N.D.:145).

⁴ Blair (1888:25-26).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

Magistrate.¹ Those parties opposed to the clause became known as the General Associate Synod (Anti-Burgher), while those amenable to the clause remained as the Associate Synod (Burgher).² For the next seventy-three years after "The Breach", the two branches of the Secession continued with similar views on discipline, the right of individual conscience, and the freedom of the church to be voluntarily supported.³ But in 1820, the Associate Synod of the Burghers and the General Associate Synod of the Anti-Burghers united to form the United Associate Synod, or the United Secession Church.⁴

The preaching of the various strands of the Secession Church took on the character known in the parlance of the time as "Gospel preaching"; in other words, it was intensely evangelical.⁵ The roots of such theology can be found in the flowering of the Evangelical Revival, which in the case of Scotland can be traced both in the theological strands introduced from Whitfield (who took part in the Cambuslang Revival of 1742) as well as from the stirrings around 1739 in the northern Highlands preceeding Cambuslang.⁶ The style of preaching in the Church of England and beyond was eventually transformed by the example of the men like

¹ Burleigh (1960:323); The disagreement centred on whether it was lawful or sinful for a Seceder to take the oath required of some town Burgesses, acknowledging the true religion publicly preached and authorized by the laws of the realm.

² Burleigh (1960:323); Blair (1888:55).

³ Ibid.

⁴ Burleigh (1960:324); Smeaton (1901:39); These "New Licht" portions had prevailed over "Auld Licht" remnants in 1799 in the case of the Burghers, and in 1806 for the Anti-Burghers.

⁵ Woodside (N.D.:146-147).

⁶ Burleigh (1960:292-293); Initially the Seceders denounced the Cambuslang Revival and Whitfield's work, because he would not limit his preaching to their own meeting houses.

Wesley and Whitfield at the forefront of the Evangelical Revival; it was changed from simply nourishing the seed of faith planted at baptism, to sowing that seed in the form of calling sinners to repentance before God through faith in Jesus Christ.¹ In this way the work of Wesley and Whitfield generally paved the way in Scotland for the Evangelical Revival of the nineteenth century.²

The influence of this awakening as it continued into the nineteenth century encouraged Secession preachers to dwell more upon the question of the relationship of the individual hearer toward God.³ Through this emphasis, the preachers laboured to induce "a right religious attitude" in their hearers, and frankly invited them to accept the offer of Salvation in Christ.⁴ Other common Secession themes became the Divinity of Christ, the necessity of every religious life to be founded in him, the fact of the atonement, and the salvation of man through its redeeming efficacy.⁵ The Seceder's cry was: "I beseech you in Christ's name, be ye reconciled to God." As Woodside relates in his article "The Contribution to Scottish Preaching of the United Presbyterian Church":

They [the Seceders] reckoned themselves Calvinists; but this Calvinism, as in the case of Calvin himself, did not prevent them from imputing to their hearers the most direct responsibility for the rejection of Christ, and for neglecting the opportunity available for all of receiving the Gospel unto Salvation.⁶

So the Seceder's preaching was characterized by freedom of

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- 1 Walls (1977:549).
 - 2 Burleigh (1960:295).
 - 3 Woodside (N.D.:147).
 - 4 Ibid.
 - 5 Ibid.
 - 6 Ibid.

speech and movement as they proclaimed a message of Grace, mainly to the middle class town dwellers of Central Scotland.¹ But since the Seceders went out with a clear idea of their Divine call to freely preach the Gospel, they saw no territorial limitations to their mission.² So after seeing the power of preaching the Gospel for renewing souls throughout Britain, the idea slowly dawned on various groups including the Seceders that perhaps the preaching of the Gospel to the nations could also bring in a harvest of souls among "the heathen" of foreign shores.³ The Seceders became among the most enthusiastic of supporters of mission in Scotland, and many of the missionaries for the Scottish Missionary Society were from the Secession Church.⁴

The tradition of evangelical preaching continued throughout all branches of the Secession Church. Its vitality was only interrupted during periods of conflict concerning the nature of Predestination and Free-Will, and on the question of the extent of Christian atonement,⁵ which we will examine in more detail later. In the main then, the Secession branch brought into the United Presbyterian Church a preaching style which focused on content; its preachers were less conscious of manner, and therefore less interested in catching hearers with a startling turn of phrase.⁶

¹ Blair, op.cit., 39.

² Ibid., 26.

³ Walls (1977:547, 549).

⁴ Christie (MSS:5); Woodside (N.D.:146); Blair (1888:53); Since the Established Kirk was not quick to contribute personnel or finances to the early Scottish mission societies, a disproportional number of missionaries came from the branches of the Secession Church.

⁵ Woodside, op.cit., 150.

⁶ Woodside, op.cit., 151.

On the other hand, the Relief Church brought a somewhat different emphasis to United Presbyterian preaching when it came together with the United Secession Church in 1847.¹ The Relief Presbytery (later Church) was formed in 1761 as an effort to provide preaching in a "house of refuge" for those who were dissatisfied with an unpopular minister of the Established Kirk.² Its preachers did not disdain literary ornament or finish.³ In some ways, its preaching was like that of the Evangelicals of the Established Church, combining genuine effort to lead people to Christ, with a desire to deliver a message in as attractive a form as possible.⁴ Woodside claims that these two preaching strains continued long after the United Secession and Relief Churches united in 1847 to form the United Presbyterian Church. He illustrates his point by suggesting that as late as 1877, it was not uncommon for former Relief preachers to be sought after for Anniversary services, the old Secession preachers for communion services.⁵

Nevertheless, United Presbyterian ministers on the whole recognized their task as being primarily to lead people to deeper

¹ Burleigh (1960:362-363); Woodside (N.D.:146). Burleigh claims the union which created the United Presbyterian Church was not without difficulty. The United Secession church no longer continued the custom of "renewing the covenants", but still maintained a strictness of discipline. On the other hand, the Relief Church was more broadly evangelical, and more relaxed concerning doctrine and discipline. The Relief Church was proud of its open communion. There was common ground between the parties, however. Both had taken part in the Voluntary Controversy, and both repudiated the chapter of the Westminster Confession which asserted the ecclesiastical rights and duties of the Civil Magistrate.

² Burleigh (1960:284); Woodside (N.D.:146).

³ Ibid., 151.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

decisions about life, by setting before them the great facts of judgment, atonement, eternal life, and the world to come; in light of these concerns, read sermons were for long prohibited.¹ It was logical that this evangelical preaching--with its free offer of grace- contributed to the expansion of the home mission, and thereby translated well into the foreign mission of the United Presbyterian Church as the nineteenth century progressed.² The United Presbyterian Church was prepared to preach to the nations. This was because its aim--as had been the aim of the streams feeding into it--was for its preachers "to show themselves in possession of a message, and be able therefore, with God's help to bring humans from darkness to light."³

Let us now look at how preachers were produced through the Theological halls of the Secession, Relief, and ultimately the United Presbyterian Church. By doing so, we will throw light on the type of theological and homiletical models offered to students who eventually went on to become missionary evangelists in the Calabar mission.

3.3 Preaching and Theology in the Secession and United Presbyterian Divinity Halls

When the United Secession and Relief Church united together in 1847, each brought to the Union its own distinctive history and practice of theological education. However, since

¹ Woodside, op.cit., 150.

² Woodside (N.D.:146); Even in the unsure days immediately following the French Revolution, when the Established Kirk feared mission and evangelisation, the Sece ders by 1795 had crossed the Pentland Firth, preaching in Kirkwall, and later extending to the Orcadian islands. Blair, op.cit., 53.

³ Woodside, op.cit., 150.

no missionaries to Calabar studied at the Relief hall before the Union, and because the first two missionaries to Calabar--Waddell and Jameson--were trained in the Secession Hall,¹ we shall only look at the distinctives of the Secession theological education. We can thus better understand how this education bore upon these men and later missionaries. Following this, we shall be able to note the Secession Hall's own contribution to the United Presbyterian Hall's formation of ministerial candidates.

3.3.1 The United Secession Divinity Hall

Both streams of the Secession had equipped their own theological schools since "the Breach", but after the union of 1820, the Associate (Burgher) Hall and the General Associate (Anti-Burgher) Hall came together to form the United Secession Hall, taught by Dr. John Dick of Greyfriars.² Dick taught alone, until joined by Dr. John Mitchell in 1825, the session being only eight weeks, and often as little as one month.³ It was under Dick and Mitchell that Waddell and Jameson trained at the Secession Hall, entering into studies there in 1827 and 1828 respectively.⁴

Dr. Dick was known for his critiques of student sermons, which guided the students away from flowered poetry, especially where it was alien to the text.⁵ Dick's lectures in Systematic Theology, which were published in 1834, were deeply influential on the Hall, and were only succeeded in their influence by Charles

¹ Mackelvie, op.cit., 679.

² Mackelvie (1873:674).

³ Ibid., 678; Woodside, op.cit., 133.

⁴ Mackelvie, op.cit., 679.

⁵ Landreth, op.cit., 201-202.

Hodge's work in the 1870s.¹ William Anderson early in his career read Dick's "Lectures on Theology" and "Christian Philosopher" and they were deeply influential on his theology.² And both Goldie and Anderson used Dick as a textbook in 1844 while studying under Jameson for ordination in Jamaica.³ One would expect signs of the influence of Dick on the shape of Calabar theology, due to Goldie and Anderson's long term of service almost to the turn of the twentieth century.

However, Dick's lectures did not provide his students their model for preaching. Dick brought neither material nor style from his preaching to his lectures: his lectures were very compressed, classical in tone, and rarely amplified.⁴ Landreth claimed that Dick's sermons themselves were also entirely free from repetitions and swollen poetic phrases; while they lacked the concentrated thought and quick transitions of his lectures, Dick's sermons had consistent clarity in their favour.⁵ Of course we know that Waddell trained under Dick at the Secession Hall from 1827; but Waddell in his memoir claims to have gone up to Edinburgh to train for ministry with the Scottish Missionary Society in 1825.⁶ We do not have any record of what kind of training he may have received during this two year period if he was not in the hall. He may have received some tutoring from William Brown, who was responsible for Society training. But this would have been in Glasgow and does not explain the reference to

¹ Landreth, *op.cit.*, 203; Cheyne (1983:75).

² Marwick (1897:67, 84).

³ *Ibid.*, 154-155.

⁴ Landreth, *op.cit.*, 205.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Mackelvie, *op.cit.*, 679; Waddell (1863:15).

going up to Edinburgh in 1825.¹ If William Anderson's training provides any clues to the typical course of training for those coming from lower class backgrounds, Waddell more probably was doing some remedial studying in the Normal class of the Sessional School in Edinburgh, since he had come from being an apprentice in Dublin.² At any rate, Waddell trained with Dick from 1827-1829 in the United Secession Hall, was ordained in 1829, and went to Jamaica.³ William Jameson likewise entered the Secession Hall in 1828, and upon completion of his training became minister of a congregation in Goshen, Jamaica, under the inspection of the congregation of Rose Street, Edinburgh.⁴ These men certainly exhibited in their own teaching Dick's forceful and direct approach to teaching theology.⁵

The other tutor during Waddell and Jameson's time in the Secession Hall was Dr. John Mitchell of Glasgow; he was from the Anti-Burgher side of the Secession, and was chosen Professor of Biblical Literature in 1825.⁶ The students entering from that time were under Mitchell for Biblical Criticism for the first two

¹ Hewat (1960:11).

² For example of Anderson's one year training in the Sessional school, see Marwick, op.cit., 68-69. Since Waddell was training for ordination, he was perhaps required to go to the Sessional school two years before entering the Secession hall, which explains the two year discrepancy in going up to Edinburgh and entering the Theological Hall. For reference to Waddell's apprenticeship in Dublin, see Waddell, op.cit., 15.

³ Mackelvie, op.cit., 679.

⁴ Ibid. Jameson was not ordained by the Presbytery of Edinburgh until 7 September 1836. See Christie (MSS) *Roll of Missionaries*.

⁵ Waddell, op.cit., preface, V; Jameson was so shaped by Dick's teaching that he subsequently used Dick's "Lectures on Theology" to tutor Goldie and Anderson in Jamaica. See Marwick, op.cit., 155, 157.

⁶ Landreth, op.cit., 213.

years; they then finished the last three years of the course under Dick for Systematic theology.¹ Mitchell's lectures were considered warm, genial, and persuasive, even if not forcible.² Landreth claims that his "logic was strong, while he brought depth and tenderness to his presentation's sentiment."³ Mitchell urged all his students to be able to translate the Greek New Testament on simply opening it, and to discover more faithful renderings of both words and clauses than in the English version.⁴ However, it appears to have been Landreth's contention, presumably representative of the United Presbyterian attitude to some degree, that all the great sermons were founded on the "common version" or Authorised Version--"owing none of their splendour to changes made under influence of Greek scholarship."⁵ Certainly the mission needed its familiarity with the Greek New Testament to render the Gospel faithfully into Efik, even if not to preach "great sermons".

After Dr. Dick's death in 1833, the Secession Hall attempted to upgrade its education both by improvement of teaching and by increasing its number of Professors. John Brown of Broughton Place, Alexander Duncan and Robert Balmer were added as professors in Exegetical Theology, Pastoral Theology, and Systematic Theology, respectively.⁶ The junior class was to be taught alternatively at Glasgow and Edinburgh for two years by Drs. Mitchell and Brown; the senior class, which met in Edinburgh

¹ Ibid.

² Landreth, op.cit., 220.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Landreth, op.cit., 214-215.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Mackelvie, op.cit., 682.

was taught by Balmer and Duncan.¹

Of these professors, John Brown of Broughton Place stood above the others. The influence and celebrity of Dr. John Brown, grandson of John Brown of Haddington, was due to both his work as the professor of Exegetical Theology and a preacher. As a preacher, his reading and elocution provided a vividness to the most commonplace statements.² As a lecturer, his exegetical principles were presented not as an abstract method, but through lengthy examples of his interpretation.³ He clearly set the example before his students of bringing out "the proper meaning" and no other--no matter how well intentioned--from the particular text.⁴

Brown's exegetical approach was not without its weaknesses. It was the opinion of some that he often exerted too much effort and time at expounding a phrase, when he might have profited more from establishing its significance.⁵ Points of grammar within the biblical text were studied sometimes at the expense of doctrinal and theological unity; Brown's interpretations tended not to be comprehensive.⁶ His criticism of student preaching also aimed at vigorously promoting the focus of a sermon on the solitary meaning of the passage in question.⁷

Woodside claimed that Brown influenced not one, but two generations of students by his preaching at Broughton Place

¹ Landreth, *op.cit.*, 228.

² Landreth, *op.cit.*, 231.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Landreth, *op.cit.*, 233.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 234.

⁷ *Ibid.*

and his teaching of exegetical theology.¹ We have ample evidence that Waddell was deeply under the influence of Brown's theology and preaching. Waddell was a member of the Rose Street Church during John Brown's ministry there; when Brown answered the call to Broughton Place on 20 May 1829, Waddell transferred his membership there the following month.² Later, Waddell was ordained at Broughton Place on 14 September 1829.³ Waddell especially seems to have inherited a tendency seen in Dr. Brown to exegete and expound a singular meaning from the text, through dividing clauses and meanings rather than aiming at any doctrinal fullness. Moreover, William Anderson also attended Broughton Place to hear the preaching of Dr. Brown during his training period in 1839, before going out to Jamaica; so Anderson may have carried an influence from Brown both to Jamaica and to Calabar.⁴ Indeed, Landreth posited that Brown's influence was far-reaching certainly within the United Secession and United Presbyterian Church, and even beyond, as he was the first and for several years the only professor of exegesis in Britain.⁵

3.3.2 The United Secession Hall from 1834-1847 and the United Presbyterian Hall from 1848-to the early 1870s

From 1834 to 1847, no Calabar missionaries were trained at the United Secession Hall.⁶ As mentioned earlier, Anderson and

¹ Woodside, op.cit., 139.

² Scottish Record Office, CH3/564/15, *Broughton Place Roll Book, members added to Church from August 1825 to April 1861*, pg.41; Small (1904:437, 456).

³ Scottish Missionary Register (1829:441); Small, op.cit., 438.

⁴ Marwick, op.cit., 69.

⁵ Ibid., 232.

⁶ See Mackelvie, op.cit., 678ff.

Goldie received their theological training in Jamaica under Jameson, being ordained in 1845 and 1846, respectively.¹ It is therefore unnecessary to trace the educational influences on preaching over the remaining years before the Secession Church united with the Relief Church in May 1847.² Moreover, only a few important Calabar missionaries were trained later at the United Presbyterian Hall, Alexander Robb and Zerub Baillie entering training there in 1848 and 1850 respectively.³ However, we need not trace the effect of the United Presbyterian Professors on these men, because Brown and Harper were still promoting the influences we have already traced, just as Dick's Lectures in Theology were not superseded by Hodge until the 1870s. As far as we have records for the United Presbyterian Hall--i.e., up to 1872--there were no other Calabar missionaries trained there; many Calabar workers simply went out formally untrained in theology. It is therefore unnecessary to do a detailed account of all the changes in curriculum and teaching method in the United Presbyterian Hall up to the early 1870s, for little missionary preaching would have been shaped by these changes.

However, a number of theological developments were occurring between 1830 and the end of the nineteenth century that clearly had far-reaching effects on the preaching of United Secession and United Presbyterian churches, and therefore on the

¹ Marwick, *op.cit.*, 161, 179.

² Christie (MSS:1847).

³ *Ibid.*, 694; William C. Thomson was trained in the U.P. Hall, entering in 1855 and going to Calabar. However, his influence was slight, because he soon resigned his connection with the mission and studied medicine. See Mackelvie, *op.cit.*, 697.

missionaries which eventually arrived in Calabar. We now turn to these controversies and confessional developments, picking up the role of the United Presbyterian Hall in these developments from the mid 1870s, and its influence on the preaching in the Church.

3.4 Nineteenth-Century Theological, Confessional, and Preaching Developments within the United Secession and United Presbyterian Churches

3.4.1 The United Secession Church, 1820-1847

The type of theology that was taught and carried into the United Presbyterian Church, especially by the United Secession Church in the period leading up to the Union of 1847, can be described as Puritan.¹ The Westminster Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms had been the recognised standards of the Secession Church, with the exceptions relating to those doctrines referring to the rights of the Civil Magistrate.² A more open interpretation on doctrines such as Predestination, original sin, the work of the Holy Spirit in conversion, and the limitation of the atonement had been established in Fisher's catechism, and by advocates of the tenets of *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*.³ The Secession Churches had been exposed to these influences. Yet, before the Union of 1847, the people holding these more liberal views would have been few. Waddell would not have been prone to much influence in these areas, having gone out to Jamaica in 1829 and having trained under Dick and Mitchell earlier.

¹ Smeaton, op.cit., 43.

² Adamson, *Memoir*, p.39, cited in Smeaton, op.cit., 43.

³ Smeaton, op.cit., 43.

After the Union of 1820 in which the General and Associate Synods merged to become "The United Associate Synod of the Secession", a *Summary of Principles* was issued; in the *Summary*, the standard position of the Church on the doctrine of redemption was that the Son of God was referred to as "the surety of His people."¹ Along these lines the "Testimony" of 1828, reasserted that "Christ died for the elect to secure their redemption."² It was from these Secession principles, unchanged from the Westminster Confession, that a number of people began to diverge; as these ideas began to gain adherents and opposition to them hardened, the disagreement became known as "The Atonement Controversy".

One of the first to diverge from the official Secession positions was William Pringle, who preached a sermon in 1828 on the death of Christ, alleging that Christ died for all, not just the elect, and this was the foundation for the universal call of the Gospel.³ The Synod admonished him and others in 1830 to avoid "introducing discussion...that may seem to oppose the doctrines of particular redemption."⁴ Such an injunction would clearly have kept preaching from going in the direction of Pringle for a time.

But the impulse towards Pringle's line of thought was given further expression by James Morison. In 1841, prompted by the air of revival experienced in Kilsyth, he began to preach a series of sermons on 1 John 2.2, "He is the propitiation of our sins, and

¹ Blair, op.cit., 66.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

not for ours only but also for the sins of the world.¹ Morison argued that the atonement is an expedient introduced into the Divine Moral Government, consisting of the obedience unto death of Jesus Christ, which has completely removed all the obstacles standing between man and salvation except obstacles within him."² In this sermon and other tracts such as, "What must I do to be saved?", Morison called forth sharp reactions from his Presbytery in Kilmarnock; they criticised him for the view "that the object of saving Faith to any person, is the statement that Christ made atonement for the sins of that person, as he made atonement for the sins of the whole world--and that the seeing of this statement to be true is saving faith, and gives assurance of salvation."³ The Presbytery held that such a view "falsely restricted the horizon of faith, and excluded from it the crucial element of trust, taking for granted the previous safety of the individual, possible only on grounds of an unscriptural theory of universal pardon."⁴ Morison's other views were that men are able of themselves to believe the Gospel for salvation; justification is not pardon, but is implied in pardon; and election comes in the order of nature after the purpose of atonement.⁵

In March 1841, Morison was suspended from office, and left the Secession Church, later forming the Evangelical Union.⁶ Although the direct impact of Morison's views were channelled

¹ Smeaton, op.cit., 97; Blair, op.cit., 67-68.

² Smeaton, op.cit., 98.

³ Cairns (1860:214-215).

⁴ Cairns, op.cit., 215; Blair, op.cit., 69.

⁵ Cairns, op.cit., 216; Blair, loc.cit.

⁶ Smeaton, op.cit., 137; Blair, op.cit., 69-70.

into the Evangelical Union, the issues raised in the Atonement Controversy clearly had an effect on evangelism and mission preaching within the Secession Church and ultimately, the United Presbyterian Church. Many Secession preachers had found that preaching of election and limited atonement in evangelism was most uncomfortable, and had consequently begun to function as Arminians *de facto* from the pulpit; indeed, James Campbell asked in his tract *The Extent of the Propitiation*, "What gospel is the missionary to preach when he lands on the foreign shore?"¹ If a particular church holds to a limited view of atonement, what message of hope or salvation could a missionary present to those not already within the Church?

The controversy on views of atonement was carried forward within the Secession Church and into the United Presbyterian church due to some similarity of view between Morison and Dr. John Brown of Broughton Place.² Brown had dissented from Morison's sentence, but went on record with his views in the United Secession Magazine to make his position clear in distinction to Morison, and quell suspicion of his own heresy.³ Brown's views were similar to Morison in that faith included the hope of personal salvation and that this hope rested on truth, independent of the moods or thoughts of a person.⁴ Brown was distinguished from Morison on the subject of man's ability to believe the Gospel; for Brown went along with the Calvinistic

¹ Cited in Cheyne (1983:63).

² Cairns, *op.cit.*, 216; Smeaton, *op.cit.*, 99.

³ United Secession Magazine June 1841:285-287; Cairns, *op.cit.*, 217; Hitchins, *op.cit.*, 253.

⁴ Cairns, *op.cit.*, 217-218.

divines who drew distinctions between natural and moral inability, while there also was in Dr. Brown's thought emphatic assertions of the Holy Spirit absolutely and necessarily influencing all spiritual good.¹ Morison and Brown also deviated over the matter of Christ dying for all men equally, and that the atonement did not secure salvation for the elect only.²

On the question around which the debate centred--the extent of the atonement--Cairns maintained that Morison did not go beyond Dr. Brown's published view:

the death of Christ might be spoken of as a true atonement for all men, so as to lay a foundation for unlimited calls and invitations to mankind to accept salvation in the belief of the Gospel; or so as to remove all the obstacles in the way of man's salvation, except those which arise out of his indisposition to receive it.³

Thus, Brown asserted that on the atonement issue, Morison stood with him as an Amyraldean, not as an Arminian--whose adherents hold that Christ died for all men and that all would be saved who would choose to receive the invitation.⁴ Drs. Brown and Balmer of the Secession hall also came under attack from Marshall of Kirkintilloch for their Amyraldean views. Brown was eventually exonerated by the Synod in 1845.⁵

The resolution of the controversy thus ended with Brown establishing the Amyraldean position as the prevailing view

¹ Ibid., 219.

² Ibid.

³ Brown, *Opinions* (1841:68), cited in Cairns, *op.cit.*, 219.

⁴ Ibid. Brown also pointed out that Amyrauldeus was exonerated at the Synod of Dort, while Arminius was condemned.

⁵ Blair, *op.cit.*, 71; Balmer died in July 1844, before the Synod could exonerate him. See Mackelvie, *op.cit.*, 687.

within the Secession Church;¹ and he did this by arguing that Amyraldeanism was the position compatible with views held by the Westminster Assembly and throughout the Secession Church.² After this episode, from 1845, Brown was placed in the centre of the Secession church's affection, thought, and influence.³ Cheyne has even maintained that Brown's arguments immediately launched the United Secession and the United Presbyterian Church in a direction of preaching which pushed election into the background and increasingly stressed the preaching of the love of God as the century progressed.⁴ At the very least, Brown's teaching and final vindication unified the church laity. It did this through relieving minds disturbed by the inconsistency of a universal offer of salvation and limited atonement. As a consequence, the laity was now liberated to support the universal offer of salvation through the free preaching of the Gospel in the world. It is unclear how the controversy affected Waddell and Goldie at the time, but it certainly gave them doctrinal support for freely offering the Gospel in mission preaching; for Brown himself was greatly involved in supporting

¹ Cheyne, op.cit., 65.

² Cairns, op.cit., 223.

³ Ibid., 254.

⁴ Cheyne, op.cit., 65; Cairns claims that the result of Brown's victory was not that the Gospel was more freely preached in the pulpit--"for that was scarcely possible." But such a comment betrays Cairn's own bias toward the pulpit tradition of the United Secession and the United Presbyterian Church. Cairns, op.cit., 254.

the Calabar mission and Secession missions in general.¹ Brown's influence on Anderson was probably more direct, since Anderson sat under his preaching at Broughton Place in 1839.² Certainly, the Atonement Controversy prompted changes in preaching and lay support that ultimately made the United Secession and the United Presbyterian mission movement both possible and effective.

This brings us to the issue of support for preaching and missions, which in the case of the United Secession and United Presbyterian Churches, was highly affected by the Voluntary Controversy. Again, it was the preaching of a sermon which sparked this controversy. Dr. Marshall of Kirkintilloch preached a sermon from Psalm 74.20 on 9 April 1829, in which the text clearly suggested the duty of "sending the Gospel to the Heathen."³ The question was posed, "Shall we repair to our unenlightened brethren with the imposing apparatus of a religious establishment?"⁴ Thus, it was within the context of how ecclesiology should be represented on the mission field, that Marshall was prompted to rail against religious establishment as

¹ Cairns, op.cit., 133, 263; Small, op.cit., 438. Dr. Brown strongly supported the Missionary Society at Broughton Place as early as 1829. For many years he delivered Sabbath evening lectures once a month in support of the Society. The collections taken for the Society were kept distinct from other church funds. Broughton Place, through its Missionary Society supported Zerub Baillie, who began the Ikoriofiong station in 1856, with 150 pounds sterling per year. See Scottish Record Office, CH3/564/282, pp.42-44.

² Marwick, op.cit., 69.

³ Blair, op.cit., 74.

⁴ Marshall, *Ecclesiastical Establishments Considered*, cited in Blair, op.cit., 74.

"unscriptural, unjust, and unnecessary."¹ After this sermon, voluntary associations began to be formed in 1832--not without opposition--whereby the debate was taken up in the political arena to promote the idea of the separation of Church and State in practical terms.² A number of United Associate Synod ministers, including Dr. John Brown of Broughton Place, formed such an association.³

The intellectual debate that ensued centred around the two parties, the Churchmen (the Established Church, both Moderate and Evangelical) and the Voluntaries. The latter came to consist of almost all sections of the Scottish non-conformists, supported by English Dissenters and even the Irish Catholics.⁴ The Churchmen insisted it is the duty of Government to seek the good of society, and that civil endowments best guarantee ministerial support and peaceful patronage in parishes, especially in light of the poor of Scotland, and that endowment best prevents the re-establishment of the Catholic order.⁵ The Voluntaries replied to such views with their own arguments that the Church, based on dictates of revelation and reason, is the institution of Christ, independent and sufficient for itself under His law; Government should not interfere in spiritual affairs, the church having its own laws; the church's extension and growth should be based on wholly spiritual impulses; and society can only be influenced by

¹ Ibid.

² Cairns, op.cit., 171.

³ Ibid, 172.

⁴ Cairns, op.cit., 171-172; The Irish Catholics supported Voluntarism in an effort to secularize the Establishment revenues.

⁵ Blair, op.cit., 76.

spiritual measures, and not by instruments of foreign authority and force.¹

Such convictions would clearly be important underpinnings of any mission movement, and they explain the earlier mission impulse among the churches adhering to Voluntary principles. These ideas began to mold public opinion, and came to influence the tenets of the United Secession Church through such means as Dr. Brown's 1840 pamphlet, *What ought the Dissenters of Scotland to do at the present crisis?*² Voluntary principles were written into the United Presbyterian's constitutional documents in 1847.³ Consequently, the Synod of the U.P. Church held quite firmly--as would its missionaries--to the preaching of the spirituality and independence of Christ's kingdom as essential to the planting of the church in its world-wide extension.⁴ It should come as no surprise that since Dr. Marshall's sermon prompted Voluntarism under the influence of the considerations of the mission context, that voluntary principles would have been carried back ultimately into the field by both United Secession and United Presbyterian Church missionary preachers. After 1847, due to strenuous exertions, the Free Church--which was not opposed in principle to establishment--occupied the field in which churches might have been planted by

¹ Ibid.

² Blair, op.cit., 80; Cairns, op.cit., 197.

³ See *Subordinate Standards of the United Presbyterian church, With the Basis of Union and Summary of Principles*, (1897) especially, *Summary of Principles*, Doctrinal, Section 9, On Self-Support and Self-Extension of the Church; Blair, op.cit., 81, and 106, including "The Doctrinal and Ecclesiastical Position of the United Presbyterian Church.

⁴ Blair, op.cit., 81.

the United Presbyterian Church, especially in the Highlands.¹ The undeterred desire of the U.P. Church to spread the Gospel found a natural expression in foreign missions, to which it vigorously committed itself.²

How did the Voluntary controversy in Scotland affect Hope Waddell? We do well to keep in mind that Waddell was not from Scotland, but from Ulster, so many of the particular dynamics of the Scottish context we have outlined above would have influenced him in different measure. The Irish branch of the Secession Church had originated as an offshoot of refugees from the Church of Scotland during the reign of James I.³ The Seceders there accepted the *regium donum* patronage, as long as it was offered without conditions; in 1804 conditions were imposed on the Irish Seceders, and an alarm was raised, but in the end the gift was accepted.⁴ Thus, on the whole, the Voluntary principle was more moderately held in Ulster than by its partisans in Scotland, along similar lines to the position taken later by the Free Church of Scotland.⁵ The Seceders in Ulster were clearly one with their Scottish counterparts in insisting on the right to choose their own minister.⁶ It is quite likely that Waddell was raised with this pragmatic approach to the separation between Church and state--insisting strongly on non-interference in theological matters, while being less inclined to refuse monetary support from the state.

¹ Blair, op.cit., 87.

² Ibid., 87-88.

³ Mackelvie (1873:43).

⁴ Ibid., 44-45.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

However, because Waddell was accepted by the Scottish Missionary Society as one of its students in 1825,¹ and attended the United Secession Divinity Hall in Glasgow under Professors Dick and Matthews from 1827,² Waddell clearly came to share many of the theological and ecclesiastical perspectives of his fellow Secession Scots. Thus, he inherited the evangelicalism shaped by both the young missionary societies of the time, as well as that of the Seceders who strongly held to voluntary church principles. While in Jamaica, Waddell saw the success of these principles in the abolition cause, in which the church stood critically over-against prevailing norms within both government and society. We therefore understand some of Waddell's motives in exporting such an approach in Calabar.

3.4.2 Developments in Preaching and Theology in the United Presbyterian Church after 1847

The Basis of Union in 1847 brought the United Presbyterian Church further away from the Covenanting and Secession principles of bygone days.³ As we have seen, both before and after the Union of 1847 strong popular preaching changed the theology of Westminster, making preaching for conversion more probable, if not necessary.

A number of other theological developments influenced the shape of evangelical preaching throughout Scotland over the remainder of the nineteenth century. As William Enright has maintained, the evangelical sermon underwent a clear development from the dogmatic evangelical preaching previous to 1855 to the

¹ Waddell (1863:15).

² MacKelvie, op.cit., 679.

³ Drummond and Bulloch, op.cit., 44.

"liberal" evangelical sermons more characteristic after 1880.¹ He argues that early nineteenth century evangelical preaching in Scotland concentrated on sinful man, the atonement of Christ for the redemption of man, and the pilgrimage of salvation.²

From around 1855 to 1880, a more practical sermon began to emerge, which fixed itself less on atonement and more on the incarnation.³ In this period, the love of God was stressed more than Law.⁴ We can see an example within United Presbyterian thinking of the practical aim of mission preaching in John Eadie's book, *Paul the Preacher*, which looks at Paul's missionary discourses.⁵ Eadie's convictions about mission preaching are shown in his reading of Paul's preaching, which were portrayed in terms of practicality: "Everywhere he had proclaimed these truths, A messiah who had come, who had been characterized by suffering, who had risen again from the dead, and who had by His apostles instructed Jew and Gentile on topics of sin and salvation, God and eternity; He maintained that Christ was to enlighten Jew first and then Gentile."⁶ Eadie's reading of Paul would have guided evangelistic preaching within the U.P church for a season after its 1859 publication. If so, this would tend to confirm Enright's assertions about the "transitional" sermon.

Finally, after around 1880, a liberal evangelical sermon

¹ Enright (1968).

² Enright, op.cit.; Most of the preaching of this period, apart from the U.P.C. as we have seen, held that the Atonement was limited only to the elect.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Eadie (1859).

⁶ Ibid., 416-417.

started to appear which maintained that salvation was related to man's moral character.¹ Under the influence of an increasingly accepted higher criticism, the biblical foundations of preaching were stressed more inconsistently, while an apologetic and philosophical theology began to take the place of dogmatics.² A younger generation was in revolt against the hyper-Calvinism of an earlier age.³ All these changes taken together meant that preachers during this period were more likely to preach on the Fatherhood of God, personal experience, and the Kingdom of God.⁴

While the working out of these preaching developments was somewhat delayed in finding its expression in the mission field, we will attempt to demonstrate that these patterns were largely consistent with the mission proclamation of the United Presbyterian Church in Calabar. Indeed, the confessional transitions affecting the nineteenth century Scottish churches, can be seen operating in Calabar somewhat after the fact. Certainly by 1900, we can see in Calabar a number of these transformations had begun to take effect: a new appreciation and skill in historical investigation, disinclination towards doctrinal formulations stressing moral sensibility and tolerance, a new appreciation for the natural world and the human spirit, preference for apologetic rather than dogma, and a new approach to evangelism which while offering the Gospel to all, possessed an awareness of the problems posed by other

¹ Enright, op.cit.

² Burleigh (1960:366); Enright, op.cit.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Enright, op.cit.

religions.¹

Andrew Sommerville's lectures to the United Presbyterian Church Divinity Hall on Missions and Evangelism from 1868-1874 were instrumental in tying the preaching of missionaries to these developments, essentially prompting the move into the transitional phase of evangelical preaching. He argued that the first step in preaching Christ to the heathen was to know their religious systems, which makes it not only possible to anticipate and remove objections to scripture, but also renders the positive instruction of God's love more efficacious because their distinct modes of thinking, feeling, and acting are known.²

John Cairns, the divinity professor who succeeded Dr. Lindsay, becoming Professor of Apologetics and later Principal of the U.P. Hall, ensured that the U.P. Church led the way in these Scottish theological developments. This meant that the church's mission ultimately came to embody these changes as well. The long-standing issue of the relation of the church's doctrine to the Subordinate Standards of the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms was taken up by Cairns and others in 1877 and 1878. Cairns led a greater

¹ Cheyne (1983:73-83).

² Sommerville (1874:164-167) see also pp.235-256 on how the work of preaching should be carried out. Sommerville is a proponent it seems of the transitional evangelical preaching--which is more about the love of God than law, and which appreciates the need for religious and cultural understanding. The U.P.C. had only it seems begun to instruct their missionary candidates in the rudiments of a "transitional" preaching method as detailed by Enright, by 1874. Thus, almost a twenty year delay of the introduction of Scottish preaching developments into the Calabar is demonstrated.

movement towards liberality in interpreting the seventeenth century language of the Subordinate Standards for the late nineteenth century, especially in the areas of the Doctrines of Grace, the Divine Decrees, Freedom of the Human Will, and again, the extent of the Atonement. This led to Cairns composing the text which led to the Declaratory Act in 1879.¹ The Declaratory Act made into United Presbyterian law various theological positions hitherto irreconcilable with Westminster orthodoxy. These included: the love of God to all mankind in the gift of his Son, the responsibility of men under God for their response to the unrestricted offer of eternal life, tolerance in the area of religion, and liberty of opinion on the interpretation of the "six days" in the Mosaic account.²

The Declaratory Act made the final translation to "liberal" evangelical preaching possible. But John Ker made it probable that students would be inclined to preach in those terms, at home and in the mission field. In 1888, John Ker's *Lectures on The History of Preaching* to the Divinity Hall were published. He maintained that while the preaching of the Reformers on justification by faith should be emphasized, it should not be presented as a dry dogmatic rehearsal of creed; Ker presented the example of the Pietists' preaching which stressed personal response and inward regeneration, reflecting the image of Christ in the Christian life.³ Even more significantly, Ker presented to his students the benefits of the contemporary

¹ John Cairns (1903:131).

² *Subordinate Standards of the United Presbyterian Church, with Basis of Union and Summary of Principles*, (1897:91-93).

³ Ker (1888:399-400).

German mediating school of preaching, which stressed research into human nature to improve application of the Bible. To make his treatment of the later historical preaching developments more complete, Ker also taught the benefits to preaching of the German Illuminists, who preached plain, practical sermons which arrested attention, because they addressed secular topics of the day.¹

Ker's treatment of modern approaches clearly set the stage for the emergence of more liberal evangelical preaching among younger United Presbyterian preachers after 1888. The Calabar missionaries which arrived by the mid 1890s well into the twentieth-century, would have come under the influence of such teaching. Certainly, these transformations carried through to the work of the United Free Church after the turn of the twentieth-century.²

We shall now commence with our study of the historical development of the theology preached in Calabar. We will attempt to draw attention to significant correlations between mission proclamation and the various Scottish Presbyterian theological distinctives and developments mentioned above. By noting the presence or absence of these Scottish theological influences in the patterns of preaching among individual missionaries, we shall be better able to assess the personal traits of the missionaries as they represented the Gospel in Calabar.

¹ Ibid., 264, 400.

² Cheyne, op.cit., 83.

Chapter 4

The Characteristics and Historical Development of Theological
Content in the Proclamation of the Calabar Mission,
1846-1858

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we move to examine the theological content within Cross-River preaching, with its historical development. Having already established in the preceding chapter some of the historical, ecclesiastical, and cultural influences both "binding and blinding" the missionary evangelists, we will attempt to establish a portrait of the characteristic features of mission preaching in Calabar at various stages. We will do this by following the development of preaching content as it was presented by various missionaries--first in Creek Town, then in Duke Town. Where appropriate, we will also depict the preaching of missionaries in outlying areas and up-river from the Calabar urban centers. Our approach will attempt to show, where possible, full excerpts of significant developments in the preaching and theology of various missionaries--especially where this is not redundant with our earlier treatments of their preaching. However, during some periods only the biblical texts or the titles or subjects the missionaries preached upon have come down to us. We can then point out only the general thrusts of their theological content.

In examining the preaching of the missionaries in Calabar, we will seek to establish trends and developments in proclamation, as well as the differences attributable both to personality and the local Calabar context. It then will become easier to single out the effects of both the audience and situation on the preaching of the missionaries. Finally, we will offer profiles and comparisons of the unique theological contributions of individuals within the mission, in particular profiling the use

of the Bible in their teaching.

4.2 The Development of Proclamation Content in Creek Town

4.2.1 Hope Waddell (1846-1858)

4.2.1.1 Sources

As we seek to examine how Waddell's mission message and theology developed over time in Creek Town, we must briefly consider the nature of the sources at our disposal. In Waddell's diary, the U.P. Mission Magazine, and his own memoir, we have found 202 instances of Waddell's public and private instruction. On the whole then, Waddell's preaching is well documented and representative over most periods of his ministry. For Waddell, it is possible to present more comprehensive extracts of his preaching than is the case with some of the other missionaries. Nonetheless, even with Waddell's tendency to record his preaching copiously we find some periods where his documentation includes only the texts from which he preached, and perhaps a summary of his subject. For other missionaries such as Goldie and Anderson, we will also comment on the nature of the sources we have for their preaching in various periods--whether they be full extracts of preaching or simply references to the biblical texts preached --as we follow their theological development in later sections of this chapter. When we lack comprehensive excerpts, we can only call attention to the texts Waddell and the other missionaries used, and their general theological emphasis. Yet in contrast to this brief discussion of Waddell's sources from the outset, we will comment in a more summary fashion upon the nature of Goldie's and Anderson's sources, as we profile their use of scripture in

preaching.

4.2.1.2 Waddell's First Preaching Themes, Early 1846

Waddell began his preaching in Calabar, as we have seen with appeals to trust and pray to the Creator God, principles recognizable to, but not acted upon by the people of Calabar.¹ Likewise, the people accepted Waddell's claim that the mission came as representatives of God to present the Bible as His message; Waddell also claimed that if they heeded the message of the Bible, it would make their country great.² The Efik appreciated this type of teaching, but soon thereafter, difficulties were raised. Waddell's evangelical theology dictated that the Law needed to be presented to expose sin and be the tutor of the people in order to bring them to Christ.³ He quickly embarked on such preaching in his first public sermons, as we have shown in detail earlier.⁴ He soon discovered that while the Efik shared certain prohibitions in common with the Ten Commandments, the people lacked a clear sense of the notion of sin before God, possessing in their vocabulary only a word for "bad thing"; and this word was presumably applied primarily to a violation of proper social relations.⁵ The preaching of the grace of God in Jesus Christ, reconciliation and salvation in Christ, as well as the history of Christ's ministry in the Gospels, were generally presented by Waddell

¹ Waddell (MSS 7739:32-33), 18 April, 1846.

² Ibid., 34.

³ Waddell (MSS 7740:67).

⁴ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2, (1847:27), 26 July 1846.

⁵ Waddell (MSS 7740:67); Aye (1967:278), cited in Hackett (1988:61).

both before and within his first three sermons.¹ An example of this type of early personal teaching occurred informally on 3 June 1846, when Young Henry Cobham came into Waddell's home while he was getting his pictures ready to go on the wall. Waddell described the scene:

The pictures...engaged his [Cobham's] attention, particularly one of our Lord on the cross. This afforded me the opportunity for explaining to him the great facts of the gospel history. The birth and death of Christ did not seem to take his attention. Perhaps he did not understand the circumstances which make them remarkable. But his miracles, especially the raising of the dead, and more especially his own resurrection seemed to amaze him... 'White man saby too much,' said he, 'When man saby book, it make him have fine head.'²

The facts concerning the life of Christ, and the meaning of his death were uninteresting at this point to Cobham. As such, the significance of God's saving work of forgiveness in Christ was not appreciated either. The presentation of God's grace was clearly difficult for the Efik to interpret in terms of their religious views at that time. Waddell and his associates came to believe that the full teaching on the grace of God needed to be delayed, until the government and the social fabric of the Efik could be made sensitive to their sinful standing before God.³

4.2.1.3 Opposing Customs and Teaching on Responsibilities of Rulers, 1846-1850

From late 1846 to mid-1850, Waddell concentrated on exposing customs contrary to the Spirit of the Gospel, as he saw them, as

¹ Waddell (MSS 7739:63) 3 June 1846; U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2, (1847:27ff.), 26 July 2 August, and 9 August 1846.

² Waddell (MSS 7739:63).

³ Waddell (MSS 7740:67ff.)

well as the authority and responsibilities of the rulers in view of the divine will for a godly society.¹ On 20 June 1847, Waddell preached a message on the responsibilities of rulers from Romans 13. In it he expounded:

...the relative duties of rulers and subjects, the principle of duty to God and man, love, and the present time of Gospel light which was beginning to shine on them...[also] I ...explained what was meant by tribute, as a tax payable to kings and rulers for the support of their office, that they might give all their attention to the duties of it.²

Another example of denouncing local customs through a call for a divinely ordered society, is found in Waddell's description of a Sabbath meeting on 9 September 1849:

The divine origin of authority, benefit and right observance of the Sabbath was my subject...At the close of the service I remarked on the ju-ju tree in the middle of the yard...I told them that the skull should be buried and the other things put away. They replied that it was their old fashion of praying to God. I told them that God did not like that fashion, and as his good way had now come the old way should be knocked off...That will be another point gained, another little stone picked out of the foundation to undermine the old superstructure of Darkness and terror.³

These "biblical theologies of society" were presented to overturn primal religious opposition. They were also offered to create a more secure context--one in which people would be less likely to misinterpret Waddell's presentation of the

¹ For examples see U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2, (1847:196) on "The Relative Duties of Rulers and Subjects" (Rom.13) delivered on 20 June 1847. See also Waddell (MSS 7740:26, 34), 9 September and 18 October 1849.

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2, (1847:196).

³ Waddell (MSS 7740:26); U.P.C.M.R., Vol.5, (1850:42ff.).

scriptural message.¹ Having familiarized his hearers with these concepts, it became possible for Waddell to use the mission's theological distinctives to call believers out of the "ungodliness" of the World, into a church supported by institutions sanctioned by a "godly" society and government. This method served to contrast God's law from Ekpe law, although Waddell was still attempting to work with the Ekpe society as late as 1849.²

4.2.1.4 Waddell's Furlough and Goldie's Substitution at Creek Town, May 1848-August 1849

When Hugh Goldie took over in Creek Town from May 1848 to August 1849 while Waddell was on furlough, he followed Waddell's line of theological development as it was unfolding at the time; Goldie concentrated on the commandments and curse of the law, the evil customs of the country, as this excerpt from 3 September 1848 indicates:

On the sixth commandment, the custom of killing slaves on the death of their master came again under notice. The king said, 'They give dead man part of all the coppers [money] he has got, and they think slaves be like other coppers.' 'They do not kill them, then, to go with their master, to the other world?' I asked. 'O no!' said Eyo, 'When I go for ground I don't know where I go, but I have people about me all the time now:...and they think it be pity that I go for ground by myself; so they kill slave. They think hard to break off this fashion, but it be breaking off.'...On the eighth commandment, I spoke of the idle people who live upon others, which afforded my audience a theme for a good

¹ Hewat (1960:197-199).

² Waddell (MSS 7740:49), 4 December, 1849.

deal of talking and laughing.¹

Moreover, the result of breaking God's laws was also made clear by Goldie, on 17 September 1848:

Usual meeting yesterday morning, the subject of address, the curse of the law, Gal.3.10. Speaking of hell, the king repeated a remark he formerly made, 'They don't think there be any thing after this world,--they think only of this world.'²

From late 1848 increasingly to until late 1849, Goldie also began to touch on the ministry of reconciliation and restoration in Christ, by teaching such as "the great love of God in the gift of his Son--the gift, and the purpose of that gift", and "The death and resurrection of Christ".³

4.2.1.5 Waddell on Christ, 1849-1850

Upon his return in August 1849 and up to late 1850, Waddell likewise familiarized the Efik of Creek Town with the teachings of Christ, most notably the Sermon on the Mount,⁴ the Gospel histories,⁵ and the blessings in trusting Christ such as forgiveness.⁶ This he did at length, somewhat to the chagrin of

¹ See Hugh Goldie's diaries in the U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:44) see also in that volume pages 45, 70-71, 130-131, 133-134, 170-171, 185) detailing his ministry in Creek Town, from 13 August 1848 to 6 May 1849, in which this pattern holds. See especially, 3 and 17 September 1848 (pg.44), 22 October 1848, 12 November 1848, 8 and 15 April 1849.

² Ibid. See also the preceding footnote above.

³ From U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:44, 130). See also note 164 above.

⁴ See U.P.C.M.R., Vol.5., (1850:57-58), 8 and 15 October 1849, also teaching from Matthew 7, Waddell (MSS 7740:46), on 2 December 1849.

⁵ Waddell (MSS 7740:27), 15 September 1849.

⁶ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.3. (1848:25), 15 August 1847, on "Blessed are the Dead who die in the Lord"; also Waddell (MSS 7740:67).

his wearied hearers. Indeed, during one sermon concluding the Beatitudes on 14 October 1849, Waddell "carried on to a greater length than ordinary."¹ Waddell's subjects were "the pure in heart, the peacemakers, and the persecuted."² His listeners said that they "could not hear so much"--especially with regard to the persecutions the Christians underwent for the Lord's sake.³ Waddell found that the comments about his long-windedness were based on the fact that every time he spoke in English, and paused during the translation, the gentlemen placed a slip of bamboo fibre on the ground.⁴ They marked 33 times that he had spoken, and maintained that seven or ten times would be plenty.⁵ To this, Waddell laughed, as he "thought of the clocks in the churches at home, and the sly looks occasionally directed to them by weary hearers."⁶

Despite difficulties in finding appropriate terms in Efik for theological concepts such as "temptation",⁷ Waddell began to see signs in the beginning of 1850 that Eyo's interpretations of the message of reconciliation in Christ were beginning to break through the communication barrier.⁸ In fact, Waddell conceded that for the first two years he could not discourse freely on the subject of God's forgiveness of sins for the sake of the Jesus Christ. On 13 January 1850, he was able to do so and even went so far as to mention the gift of "His Spirit" to change

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.5, (1850:58).

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Waddell (MSS 7740:43), 25 November 1849.

⁸ Waddell (7740:67), 13 January 1850.

the hearts of men and prevent them from sinning. We will quote Waddell's account of his teaching in full:

...preached on the First and great commandment, Love the Lord thy God...and showed first, why men should love God, especially because of his love to man in His son Christ Jesus...and second...what blessed effects love to God produces among men. I was enabled to be very simple, pointed, and distinct in all I said...the love of God in Christ Jesus to save men, and our duty to serve him from love, was no longer a strange and inconceivable argument...[Waddell preached further on] 'the free forgiveness of all our sins by God for the sake of Christ Jesus, [who] showed his love to us, but it was always accompanied by the gift of his spirit to change the hearts of men that they should not abuse his grace and go on to sin after he had pardoned them.'¹

It is not without significance that this was probably the first reference to the Holy Spirit in the salvation process; for Eyo responded by solemnly placing his hand on his heart, claiming that "he wished God would change his heart."² This suggests that the notion of the power of God coming to influence men in the spirit was peculiarly resonant with Efik local religion. Waddell's reflections follow on from this, describing how Eyo's translation made it possible for people to appreciate the grace of God in relation to the Law:

The ease and fulness and readiness with which Eyo interpreted for me today proves the progress that he has made in the knowledge and appreciation of this divine truth. For a year or two after I came here I could not freely discourse on such a subject. Eyo did not understand it, nor care about it. It gained little attention from him...The nature and importance of it were alike beyond his comprehension. My efforts to introduce it were at times repulsed with such remarks as these,

¹ Waddell (MSS 7740:67); U.P.C.M.R., Vol.5, (1850:176).

² Ibid.

'Calabar people no fit to saby all that yet-- tell them about the fashions, what God tell us to do or not to do.' The difference today was remarkable....We have had to preach the law of God, and all the simplest doctrines of religion, and thus lay a foundation of knowledge for the preaching of the Gospel of Christ...Here I may remark on a popular mistake among pious and even sensible people. They think because the gospel of the grace of God in Christ Jesus is the principal truth to be known and believed for salvation, that it is therefore the first truth to be preached to the heathen as to all unconverted sinners. The mistake lies here that it supposes an equal and complete preparation of mind in every unconverted person to understand the gospel and to see its suitableness to their condition, which is not the case...The previous essential ideas of the character of God, and the law of God, the judgment of God, the sinfulness of man, his inborn depravity and ungodliness, daily transgression, accountability for the thoughts, words, and actions, and His resurrection and an eternity of rewards and punishments, in short, all that the bible especially reveals in connection with the gospel, all are wanting in the minds of the heathen and have to be communicated and impressed before the love of God in sending his Son to save men can be understood or appreciated. The law must precede the gospel...the first principles of religion must be first taught, though they may in themselves be inoperative to produce conversion; and the law must be preached till it is at least understood though it should be preached for years without making converts. It is never preached in vain. It will reach the conscience and prepare the mind for at least knowing what we mean when we proclaim the love of God to men in sending his Son, to save Sinners.... "The law is a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ."¹

We can see in this quotation the kind of theological themes Waddell presented as "the first principles" of religion, to be taught in the mission setting as a prelude to introducing full discussions on the grace of God. So, previous to this date in

¹ Ibid.

January 1850, Eyo and his hearers had resisted reference to Christ's forgiveness of sins, and Waddell had consciously given this theme correspondingly little emphasis. But now, Waddell was ready to make the transition in his preaching into stressing the grace of God through Christ. Through the remainder of 1850, the way was now clear for the Creek Town people to hear the essentials about God's grace, as the people began to grasp more fully the claims of Christ as a mediator between God and man.¹

4.2.1.6 Transitions in Waddell's Preaching: On Commerce, Chastisement, Conversion, and the Old Testament, 1851-1852

Early in 1851, Waddell turned his attention to an important topic in such a commercial area--proper Christian behaviour and attitudes towards trading. King Eyo had upbraided his son Young Eyo in a conference, accusing him of "spending too much time in religion and not enough in trade." The next day, on 26 January 1851, Waddell offered some scriptural guidance on the relationship between commercial and Christian responsibilities:

I admonished the young man to give no course for reproach in respect of want of attention to his lawful worldly business, to be as the Scriptures say, 'Not slothful in business, fervent in Spirit, serving the Lord; for industry, etc.'²

Waddell then continued until the middle of 1851 to oppose

¹ Waddell (MSS 7740:87), 10 March 1850; See also the reference to the sermon on from Proverbs 1, "Joy in heaven over one sinner who turns", and "Christ the Light of the World", from John 8.12, U.P.C.M.R., Vol.7, (1852:10, 157), on 23 February and 3 August 1851, respectively.

² Waddell (MSS 7741:56ff.)

local customs,¹ as well as preach on themes such as judgment in the life to come,² death and everlasting life,³ and the spiritual wisdom from the teaching in Matthew,⁴ Acts,⁵ and Proverbs.⁶ The promise of better prospects for communicating these themes occurred, according to Waddell, when Young Eyo took over the interpretation in January of 1851, paving the way for further breakthroughs in the clouded process of translation.⁷ Such prospects led Waddell in September and October of 1851 to stress more explicitly than before the elements in the conversion process.⁸ The following two excerpts from Waddell's diary on 12 and 19 October of 1851, demonstrate his keen interest in persuading his hearers to no longer delay their salvation:

'Today, if ye will hear my voice, harden

¹ Waddell (MSS 7740:82), 24 February 1850; also Waddell (MSS:7741:69), 2 March 1851.

² Ibid.; Waddell (MSS 7741:20), 7 July 1850; (MSS 7741:88), 18 May 1851.

³ Waddell (MSS 7741:18), 23 June 1850.

⁴ Waddell (MSS 7741:21-23), 14, 21, and 28 July 1850; Also (MSS 7741:27-30), 25 August and 1 September 1850.

⁵ Waddell (MSS 7741:51,53,71), 22 December 1850, 5 January 1851, 9 March 1851, and 16 March 1851.

⁶ Waddell (MSS 8953:1,9,16,19), 15, 22, 29, June 1851, and 20 and 27 July 1851.

⁷ Waddell (MSS 7741:56), 19 January 1851. Waddell claimed that there had been difficulty possibly up to 1848 in getting the Efik other than the literate leadership to comprehend English words outside the range of trade vocabulary. It is not clear that such difficulties were present as late as 1851, but it is probable. See Waddell (MSS 8953:38).

⁸ Waddell (MSS 8953:29,30,40, 42), on "It is a faithful saying worthy of all acceptance, Christ Jesus died for sinners", 14 September 1851; "How shall we escape if we neglect so great a salvation", 21 September 1851; "Today if ye will hear my voice, harden not your hearts", 12 and 19 October 1851.

not your hearts' was my subject of discourse....My first reason for their hearkening to God today and not deferring till tomorrow, was that they might not live to see tomorrow. Indeed we had a case in point before us, for only two nights before a man after spending the evening and part of the night in play, went to his house seemingly quite well and was found dead in the morning. Scarcely had I concluded and left the king's yard on my way to young Eyo's when I learned that another man had suddenly died while I was preaching.¹

Today [19 October] I preached from the same text as last Sabbath showing the various ways in which people harden their hearts. One of these was the plea of country fashion so often used for refusing or delaying obedience to the word of God, and I brought my remarks to bear on the monstrously wicked practice of infanticide in the case of twins which we are this week resolved not only to condemn in a general of the country but if possible to suppress. Indeed the half of my discourse was on the subject, and the king seemed freely to go along with what I said. Some of the women were silent, and some were displeased, but they were not impatient as usual. It is the old women, not the young, or the men in the town who promote this.²

It is interesting to note, that Waddell's pleas for personal conversion were still offered in connection to the need for reform throughout the society. However, there is no clear indication here of any profound effects on the hearers, outside of the willingness of the king to consider Waddell's arguments on infanticide reform. At this point then, Waddell's hopes to promote conversions to Christianity--as the mission would define it--were premature. But he could console himself with the thought that the teaching of God's word, while not provoking widespread personal conversion, was nonetheless having a steady leavening effect upon the fabric of society.

¹ Waddell (MSS 8953:40), 12 October 1851.

² Ibid., 42.

At this point in late 1851, rather than pressing the point about conversion, Waddell embarked upon a course on Old Testament History, "starting with the creation of man and the blessing of the first pair", and progressing through the chief events of Israel's history.¹ A translation of Genesis chapters 37-50 was published in 1851, and the History of Joseph formed a published teaching from which Waddell could draw.² The course was interrupted in 1852 by the calamity of fire which destroyed Eyo's house.³ Waddell attempted to "improve the situation" by preaching on suffering and the chastisement of the Lord in March and April of 1852.⁴ An example of Waddell's preaching about chastisement follows. It is taken from the 94th Psalm and was delivered on 21 March 1852:

I took for my subject today a passage...
'Blessed is the man whom thou chastenest
O Lord and teachest out of thy law. That
thou mayest give him rest from the days
of adversity, when the pit is digged for the
wicked.' This last clause seized the attention
of my interpreter and audience. They
understood so well the digging of pitfalls to
catch wild beast which can be caught and tamed

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.7, (1852:169), 26 October 1851. The course ran through 25 January 1852.

² *Efik Books* (1851:37ff.) We know that on 18 and 25 January 1852, Waddell used his Joseph translation to teach. See Appendix VI for excerpts of this published material, plus more excerpts from this book, which includes prayers, passages from the Bible, the Gospel of John, catechetical questions, and other material published in 1852.

³ Christie (MSS:1852), 26 February 1852.

⁴ Waddell (MSS 8953:104-105, 108-109, 112), on "My Son despise not the chastening of the Lord", 14 March 1852; "Blessed is the man whom Thou has chastenest, Oh Lord", 94th Psalm, 21 March 1852; "All things work to the good to them who love God..", Rom. 8.28, 28 March and 4 April 1852.

or..destroyed no other way. 'Who digs the pits for the wicked,' I asked. 'The devil first and principally the willing executioner of God's purposes on the wicked when given over of God to themselves and their master. But the devil employs men, bad men his servants, to dig the pits. And so bad men dig pits for one another to fall into, pits of sin and shame and misery and death. Bad men make good friends, not even to one another. They will deceive and betray and tempt each other to their mutual ruin. If they dig pits for God's chosen ones they will fall therein themselves. But when they dig pits for each other they seldom fail of catching each other, because they are forsaken of God and fall into the pits dug for them. Of some pits we are expressly told that 'the abhorred of the Lord shall fall therein.' And after all, there is the bottomless pit of hell to receive them.¹

King Eyo apparently took the rather heavy-handed, if well-meaning, counsel of the mission on the subject of chastisement very much in his stride.² Waddell attempted later to move the discussion to the subject of the comfort of salvation, directing it especially to Eyo, but Eyo responded that he "did not think any man could know that his sins were forgiven by God."³

Despite Waddell's brave face in his diary, he ultimately began to complain of his frustration in waiting for the message of the Gospel to cause the Efik to cry out, "What must I do to be saved?"⁴ Waddell proceeded to catalogue the theological themes he had preached and which had been resisted, which the people "don't hear, or hearing, they don't regard: The holiness of God, the inviolability of his law, their own accountability to Him, their numerous transgressions, the

¹ Ibid., 108.

² Ibid., 105.

³ Ibid., 112.

⁴ Ibid.

ungodliness of their nature, the tenable award of the great judgment day against their sins, the folly of their excuses, the hopelessness of their pleas, their utterly dead state in sin and under the curse, the only one Saviour Jesus, the freeness of his mercy, the necessity of their faith and repentance."¹ Waddell had been cruelly disappointed, because some significant social change had begun by 1852, but personal conversions had not followed from it.² The theological concepts he claimed were being resisted, represent variations of the first two components of the Scottish evangelical sermon that Enright argues were characteristic up to 1855: humbling the sinner, and presenting Christ's death as the atonement. These keystones to evangelical mission proclamation all assumed a high level of Christian teaching spread throughout a society, which was so in the case of Scotland. Waddell had therefore exported a theology in his preaching which derived from a Scotland as a nation within "Christendom". Evangelical preaching within a nation in Christendom depended heavily on commonly-held notions of sinful behaviour within the community. Because the Efik did not recognize sin as a breach of God's law, the other tenets of evangelical preaching --reconciliation and regeneration-- could not easily be explained. One therefore must concede that, based on this evidence, very little of the evangelical theological initiative had been accepted, or even understood.

Waddell clearly had perceived a hindrance to the acceptance

¹ Ibid.

² See Waddell MSS (8953:115), 11 April 1852, where he assesses the apparent ambivalent progress of the mission on the 10th anniversary of his first visit to Calabar.

of his Gospel in Calabar, but he could not identify it.¹ He recognized that the people made decisions communally as "town matter"; but he was critical of this practice and could not reconcile his individualistic reading of the scriptures with Efik patterns of communal decision making and change. Waddell was also blind to the fact that the Efik perceived the key acts of conversion--individual public confession and baptism--as reserved only for the missionaries.² It is highly likely that the Efik would have compared the initiation rites of their secret society--reserved for the rich, free, and elite--with the rites of passage into Christianity. It is equally probable, therefore, that Ekpe, the only comparable institution to the Church in the context, had influenced the people to view the mission's call to join the church as directed primarily to spiritual "elites". It is clear that in 1852 parallels were being drawn between entry into church and Ekpe; for Old Ekpo Jack was reported to have replied in response to a question regarding the sacrosanct authority of Ekpe, "Egbo [sic] law is the same as God's law."³ With all the preaching on impeccable moral behaviour, it is no wonder that the grace that allows entry both into fellowship with Christ and His church was lost upon the Efik. They would have assumed, due to their association with Ekpe, the only way to enter "the secret society" of the Church was somehow to prove their moral worth by living up to the law, and by observing all the proper initiation rites. Indeed, we have some evidence for reading Efik hesitation to join the Church in

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Aye (1987:29).

these terms: for on 6 September 1852, a few who were eager to join the church were afraid of doing so because they did not know the proper "distinctive rites to be observed by all the people of the Church.¹ All these points taken together only provide more substance to the view that Christian teaching was repeatedly regarded as law--simply replacing older taboos while at the same time confirming the need for taboo.²

It is likely, then, that some Efik interpreted individual conversion as similar to the restricted initiation into Ekpe. If this connection was made, these Efik may have assumed they would be excluded from the Church--unless they were of high social rank or could present special qualifications for entering. The endless round of catechising and the seven year delay to prepare the converts could have reinforced such a view.³ That it would be through faith in Christ that the Efik could enter into the Church and salvation--which some probably did not differentiate--may have seemed almost inconceivable. From around May 1852, Waddell however, began strongly to oppose the substitutionary death of slaves as a means of punishment for free-men breaking an Ekpe law. This had the effect of forcing him to begin distancing himself from the support of any Ekpe laws.⁴ This may have signalled that in fact, Waddell had come to recognize where the power to hinder conversion was centred.

Nonetheless, after resuming Old Testament history, Waddell

¹ See U.P.C.M.R., Vol.8, (1853:246), 6 September 1852.

² Noah (1978:106).

³ See Hewat (1960:199).

⁴ Ibid., 124-5.

continued increasingly to present teachings explicitly designed to promote the idea of personal conversion, until he left on furlough in August of 1852.¹ On 11 and 18 July, he preached on the third chapter of John, on Christ's interview with Nicodemus--"You must be born-again."² In the first part of this sermon on 11 July, he concentrated "especially on the Lord's discourse to Nicodemus about the new birth, and the the complete change of heart and life which God requires."³ In the second instalment a week later on 18 July, Waddell continued with "the love of god in sending his son into the world--and the condemnation of the world in refusing the light."⁴ He followed these with Hebrews 2:3, "How shall we escape so great a Salvation" on 25 July,⁵ and 2 Corinthians 4:3-5, "If our Gospel is hid, it is to those perishing..", on 1 August 1852.⁶ These are among the last themes Waddell presented to the people of Creek Town before his furlough from 1852-53.

Although he was clearly leaving with some discouragement due to lack of response, Waddell merely needed to heed his own advice:

...The first principles of religion must be first taught, though they may in themselves be inoperative to produce conversion; and the law must be preached till it is at least understood though it should be preached years without making converts. It is never preached in vain.⁷

Though a case can be made that the good news of peace and

¹ Christie (MSS 1852).
² Waddell (8953:146-147).
³ Ibid., 146-147.
⁴ Ibid., 147, 18 July 1852.
⁵ Ibid., 147.
⁶ Ibid., on 1 August 1852.
⁷ Waddell (MSS 7740:67).

forgiveness with God should precede the railing against sin--else the horror of sin's separation from God be lost--Waddell argued well for the need for Law to be understood. He simply had underestimated how long it would take, in a society quite unlike Scotland, for personal culpability to sin to be felt among the people of Creek Town. Despite his awareness of the need for patience, Waddell left Creek Town on furlough disappointed in the number of conversions. He had nevertheless been faithful in placing the first principles of the faith before any at Creek Town interested in listening to him. It would be upon these theological materials that the first converts of Creek Town would base their faith. He could not know that the first trickle of what would eventually be a flood of conversions, would happen in his absence.

4.2.1.7 Hugh Goldie's Preaching at Creek Town During Waddell's Second Furlough, 1852-1853

Hugh Goldie took over in Creek Town from 6 August 1852, and decided it was necessary to attempt preaching solely in Efik.¹ His reasons for discontinuing the use of King Eyo's services ran along these lines:

...for however faithful an interpreter [Eyo] may be, yet in the transfusion of the truth through him to the audience, the spirit of the message evaporates...Another reason... and perhaps a more weighty reason, was that what the king delivered was received more as the word of king Eyo than as the Word of God.²

With Goldie now proclaiming and applying the Bible directly

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.8, (1853:245-246);

² Ibid.

into the Efik language--despite imperfections--the obstacles to understanding God's message mentioned above began to be removed.

Preaching in the vernacular was a very significant breakthrough, because other obstacles to making a "profession of faith" in Christ were uncovered. On 5 September 1852, while preaching on "The Divine Mode of Worship" from John 4.24, "those who worship Him must worship in spirit and truth", Goldie inquired why no one had come forward to receive the rites of baptism and the Lord's supper, since the word of God had been among them for years now?¹ When Goldie surmised that perhaps no one had embraced the truth with their whole heart, King Eyo interrupted that several young men desired to profess the truth, but were afraid of what these rites would require of them.² Again, it was clear that the mission had not taught clearly the theological role and function of the sacraments, which were of critical importance to a people whose primal religion depended on ritual performance, rather than cognitive instruction for its maintenance. This vacuum of teaching on the ritual-symbolic aspects of Christianity was filled by interpreting them in terms similar to those of Ekpe initiation rites, where the uninitiated could not know the full responsibilities of membership.³ Was profession of faith in Christianity, which seemed to require these strange water and eating rituals, an initiation into a society requiring secret responsibilities? Such obstacles, very

¹ Ibid., 246.

² Ibid.

³ Aye cites the quote of Old Ekpo Jack in 1852 which promotes this view connecting the rites of joining the Ekpe society with the Church. See Aye (1987:29).

real to the Efik, had been ignored until then by the mission.

Goldie preached in Creek Town from August 1852 until 31 October 1853.¹ After a number of teachings throughout his year there based on Matthew 5.21-26, 7.7-23, and 9.18-31, (none explicitly related to the subject of baptism) Goldie baptised Esien Esien Ukpabio on 16 October 1853, one of his last Sundays before leaving on furlough.² Even on his last Sunday service, while Goldie preached on "The one thing Needful", to press upon the Creek Town hearers the need for coming to a decision, he had not fully explained the meaning of baptism.³ Indeed, King Eyo had again to ask if baptism was merely for missionaries, and if it was a baptism into the life of the missionary.⁴ For on the assumption that initiation was for elites, baptism was likely to mean that one was fully accepting a Western lifestyle as embodied in the missionaries.⁵

The second assertion, King Eyo understood perhaps only too well. As Goldie explained it, baptism was for all who professed with their hearts to give themselves to the Lord. King Eyo and many others discussed this new perspective, and conceded that he and a number of others were ready to be baptized; Eyo maintained that he had previously given himself to God in his heart--for who would not be willing to do what God wanted?--but had thought it unnecessary to do anything more on the matter.⁶

¹ Christie (MSS:1853).

² Matt. 5.21-27, U.P.C.M.R., Vol.8 (1853:342-343), 27 November 1852; Matt.7.7-13, Ibid, 343, 24 April 1853; Matt.9.18-32, U.P.C.M.R., Vol.9, (1854:9), 7 August 1853.

³ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.9 (1854:26); 30 October 1853.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

Although King Eyo stopped short of offering publicly for baptism on that day, his son Young Eyo did declare his intentions, vowing to give up everything not in agreement with God's truth.¹ The issue of local custom was apparently the stumbling block to conversion for the King. Having discovered the necessary stipulation of giving up customs not in agreement with the Bible, the king promised to talk over the matter more with his gentlemen when Goldie was gone; to which Goldie replied that the King was making conversion "too much a town matter."² Though the king would require to be led by "the necessary inquiries and reflections on the matter" in the form of catechetical questioning, the first observance of the Lord's supper was held among the Efik of Creek Town that day.³

The days of conversion had begun in Creek Town. However, the need to make personal decisions before the public clearly remained the most difficult stumbling-block for the community minded Efik. Perhaps the most significant reason for the conversions, despite such stumbling blocks, was Goldie's introduction of direct vernacular preaching. In this, he was able to uncover and belatedly remove one of the most significant obstacles to conversion based on the religious and cultural world-view of the Efik: misunderstanding of the sacraments. In the second place, Goldie concentrated his proclamation on the ethical teachings of Christ in Matthew, which emphasized concrete behavioural responses.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Christie (MSS:1853).

4.2.1.8 Waddell Returns: Teaching on Christian Living to New Converts, 1854

Upon his return to Creek Town, Waddell discovered, not a little to his dismay, that another five converts had been received.¹ On 18 June 1854, his first Sunday service back in Calabar, Waddell spoke of the goodness of God, as well as

the work of God's Spirit, which had been manifested among them in my absence, in the baptism of some there into his family--that I had seen it growing ere I left, and knew that it would come to this...that none should be displeased, that...young people had gone first, for God's Spirit moved freely and sovereignly, and called whom he would, and usually the young before the old...that now they had increased encouragement to seek the Lord while he might be found, and to call on him while he was near.²

The explicit mention of the Holy Spirit had been conspicuously lacking in Waddell's preaching, but including it certainly was not without effect, for Eyo Hogan came forward wishing for baptism.³ Though Waddell had been against hasty baptisms for young people, one gets the impression that faced with the prospects of fruit in his evangelism, he was eager to join in with the success at Creek Town. Hogan explained that he had believed the preaching of the missionaries since they had arrived, and the more he looked into their message, the more truth he found in it; moreover he had learned:

...from the story of Cornelius, that it is not enough for a man to believe in God, and to pray to him, and do other good things, for he must know and believe in Jesus Christ and

¹ Waddell (1863:536); for a less expunged version of his dismay, see the Waddell diary (MSS 7742:23), 23 July 1854.

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.9, (1854:155).

³ Ibid.

be baptized to him.¹

Such were probably the sentiments and motivation of the other young converts of Creek Town.

After these favourable initial responses to the preaching of Christ, Waddell found it expedient to begin teaching on the Gospel of John, which he did throughout 1854.² The teachings recorded include John 6.41ff. on "I am the bread of life",³ and John 11.47-53 on "The Jew's enmity to Jesus and his followers". The latter text was used to encourage those who were experiencing opposition and criticism from some quarters that the mission work would "ruin the country."⁴

...I took advantage of verses 47-53 to refer to the hostility shown to Jesus and his gospel in the face of the clearest evidence of their divinity, an hostility frequently as great now as of old, and as unreasonable and wicked, and displayed by all people still as it was then by the Jews. He [the king] saw the bearing of my remarks and denied their justness in respect of Calabar. I reaffirmed what I had said--and that even now because a few had avowed faith in Christ and obedience to him by baptism great alarm was felt and expressed that if this work went on we would spoil the country and bye and bye Makara would come and take it--just as the enemies of Jesus pretended that if the people followed him the Romans would come and take away their place and nation. Now as then many acknowledge the truth of the miracles of Jesus which they cannot deny and thereby own the truth of all his doctrine, yet will not submit to it nor let others do so, and hate and oppose those who truly preach it. He again denied that such feelings existed here, but added that for such a great work all people knowing believing and obeying the word of God much time must be allowed. 'Yes, but Calabar gentlemen want it to take too much time. How

¹ Ibid.

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.10, (1855:106).

³ Waddell (MSS 7742:34).

⁴ Ibid., 43.

much more do they want. Is not eight or nine years enough for them to learn and do the will of God, by hearing the gospel believing and obeying it. You don't allow your people year after year to refuse obedience to your orders and still say they must get more time. God is our master yours and mine and must be obeyed or he will know why. O king, do think how dangerous and dreadful is such trifling on such an awful subject. One after another is dying without salvation. Are you prepared to meet God with such excuses if he now call you. I have truly a great friendship for you and your brother Tom there and others of your family and wish you to be saved, and I speak thus only because of my great desire that you might be saved...He has called two of your sons into his family to believe and love the truth, but how dreadful...to think you might be lost.' I spoke solemnly and calmly and sat down moved in my own feelings. He also seemed moved and sat awhile silent. It was a solemn moment--stillness prevailed and I breathed an earnest prayer for him.¹

Waddell further involved himself in preaching on discipleship to give guidance to his young flock--mentioned above--so soon to be caught incessantly within the tension between obeying Calabar and missionary custom. Various themes were presented to provide instruction in this area: the reading of *Pilgrim's Progress*,² personal instruction on "Is the Disciple like the Master?",³ temptations of the flesh,⁴ and the work of God's Spirit to sanctify the heart from personal sin, which Young Eyo had not viewed up until that time as affecting his life.⁵ The effect of the Efik translation of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* was to encourage reading the Christian experience in terms of ardour and pilgrimage; the sheer human

¹ Ibid., 43ff.

² Ibid., 45-46; 31 October 1854.

³ Ibid.; 3 November 1854.

⁴ Ibid., 53; 3 December 1854.

⁵ Ibid., 52; 9 December 1854.

interest of the story insured its widespread impact on Efik society--certainly from its publication in 1868.¹ With the concentration on the probationary pilgrimage of sanctification, the preaching of Waddell had at least embraced all three major components of the Scottish evangelical sermon of the time as Enright defined them--the Ruin, Redemption, and Regeneration of man.

4.2.1.9 Waddell on the Restoration of Fallen Converts, and Opposing Local Customs, 1855-1858

From 1855 on, Waddell was increasingly pre-occupied with those young converts, especially Young Eyo, who had enormous difficulty in living up to the expectations of the mission concerning proper Christian living.² When he was preaching during this period, a marked use of metaphor and parable were characteristic of his sermons.³ An example of this can be found in Waddell's preaching among the people of Ikunetu on 1 November 1855, to urge them to accept a mission station there:

The people were slow to decide, because they could not agree to give up any old customs just now. [I]...answered that no compulsion would be used, that the word of God would be taught to all, and all must think and judge for themselves, and no changes were to be agreed upon before hand...better they know what the word of God say and then they will know what is best. 'If a ship brought new goods for trade they did not agree among

¹ Aye (1987:111-112).

² Ibid., 54,80,84; 7 January, 27 March, and 4 May 1855; Waddell (MSS 7743:64), 5 May 1856.

³ Waddell (MSS 7743:18), 1 November 1855; U.P.C.M.R., Vol.11, (1856:54-55), 18 November 1855.

themselves to refuse the new and stick to the old, but were glad to get the new which they found good. And so the word of God would bring new things to them, better than all the old things that ever they knew before, which they should be glad to know, which would show them the way to eternal life.¹

There is in the above incident, an apparent tolerance for Efik customs, as well as recognition that decisions about culture change remain the prerogative of the Efik themselves. Waddell nevertheless suggests in his preaching that after the Efik were exposed to the Christian message, certain local customs would be regarded less positively. This marks a transition, with Waddell increasingly preaching against Efik customs in an open fashion.

Indeed, from late 1855 until his retirement in 1858, Waddell seems to have fallen back on the familiar railing against Calabar culture,² and the danger of judgment to those who break the Law of God,³ rather than opening any new constructive teaching initiatives. With the bulk of Waddell's diary after 1855 taken up with attempts to chastise and restore the younger Creek Town converts, it is likely that his preaching ministry there may have become secondary to his mind. Certainly no fresh preaching initiatives were recorded. Moreover, the preaching excerpts we are given after 1855 were taken from Waddell's tours to outlying areas. If we take these facts together, it is quite apparent that the effectiveness of Waddell's ministry in Creek Town, at least, was exhausted perhaps a full three years before his

¹ Waddell (MSS 7743:18), 1 November 1855.

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol. 11, (1856:87), 9 December 1855;
U.P.C.M.R., Vol.12, (1857:89), 28 September 1856.

³ Waddell (MSS 7743:58), 13 April 1856; Ibid., 70, 27 May 1856.

departure on 26 May 1858. We can see very little evidence of change in Waddell's theological content over the period of his ministry in response to the Creek Town context.

4.2.1.10 A Profile of Waddell's use of Scripture in Preaching

In setting out a theological profile of Waddell's preaching career, it is helpful to first note his relative preferences among biblical texts. As we noted earlier, we have found 202 instances of both public and private exposition of the word and the Christian message, during Waddell's 12 year ministry at Creek Town. Preaching as we have defined it, includes instances of personal instruction, exhortation, and guidance, which would reflect similar themes and approaches to those used in the pulpit. Dividing the number of documented instances of preaching we possess, by the number of years of Waddell's service means that we possess roughly on the average 17 "sermons" (as we have openly defined them) per year. Waddell preached at least three times on Sunday each week--in a early morning service, a "forenoon" or 11 o'clock service, and an afternoon service. He also usually attempted to preach at least one mid-week service, and sometimes the odd evening bible study to anyone interested. If Waddell preached at least four times each week for roughly 50 sundays each year, it means on a conservative estimate he could well have preached over 200 times each year. This number could well be adjusted higher if one could precisely count all the instances of personal instruction. However, there would have been considerable overlap and repetition of themes. So although we probably possess slightly less than 10% of Waddell's "preaching" for any given year,

we have no reason to believe that Waddell did not record the most significant and representative lines of his teaching for posterity. We have already seen how scholars have accorded him the accolade of being an unusually sympathetic and objective observer of Efik culture. Indeed, historians take Waddell largely at his word, regarding his diary as the best representative of the recording of Efik cultural and historical affairs in the nineteenth-century. We should trust Waddell no less, especially on the subject of his preaching, of which he knew all the more. Moreover, he probably could not have remembered his preaching unless it had been repeated, or it was an important element of his overall body of biblical exposition and exhortation. We assert, therefore, that a detailed examination into the frequency of references to biblical books used during Waddell's preaching is both possible and profitable, and that the sources we possess should be regarded as both accurate and representative of his entire body of work.

We have counted the frequency of Waddell's use of biblical books (as well as Goldie's and Anderson's in later sections) under two distinct categories--sermons preached on an individual biblical passage, and sermons which were part of a series treating an entire biblical book. In this way, we can isolate the appearance of inordinately high uses of pet or "proof" texts from an otherwise underused biblical book, which would skew the proper frequency of the biblical material preached from throughout a particular book. Thus, the ranking of biblical books in which Waddell expounded an individual text, gives a fair representation of which books contained most of Waddell's

pet preaching texts. On the other hand, we have also examined which books were most systematically taught, regarding these as the truest indicators of the biblical thrust of preaching done at Calabar by the various missionaries. For an overview of the frequency of Biblical books taught by Waddell see Appendix III.

We can trace the following emphases, with the evidence for our assertions being found in Appendix III. Waddell clearly had a theological predilection for preaching the Gospel of John: it is the only book in which we have evidence that he spent an entire year preaching through. The Gospel of John also ranks fourth in frequency of specific texts used by Waddell during his preaching ministry. However, there were more individual texts cited from the book of Genesis in Waddell's preaching than any other--because in 1851 Waddell embarked on teaching Old Testament history from select portions such as Genesis 1 and 2.¹ After the book of Genesis, texts from Matthew were expounded most frequently, from such chapters as 5-8 ("The Sermon on the Mount").² The book of Acts was also expounded frequently, including a series of teachings from Acts 12 and 13,³ but it was taught somewhat less than Matthew. As we have mentioned, the Gospel of John ranked fourth in the number of its texts cited, but this included Waddell's pet text John 8.12, "Christ as the light of the world", which was expounded at least three times.⁴ Following these

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.7, (1852:169-170), 26 October and 22 November 1851.

² Ibid., Vol.5, (1850:57-58), 7 and 14 October 1849.

³ Waddell (MSS 7741:71), 9 and 16 March 1851.

⁴ One example of his treatment of this text is found in U.P.C.M.R., Vol.6, (1851:12-13), 2 June 1850.

favourites, came Romans, with teaching on the eighth chapter proving to have been a relative emphasis of Waddell's.¹

The use of John exemplified Waddell's desire to produce belief in his hearers--that the people of Calabar would see and know the light of the World and the love of the Word made flesh. The book focuses on the provision of abundant life in the present as well as eternal life, and therefore Waddell probably found these themes particularly pertinent to the Efik.²

Waddell's use of the mythological portions of Genesis presented the creator God as good and benevolent, but man as morally corrupt and rebellious before God's nature and Law. The story of the tower of Babel in chapter 11, also explained the origin of cultural plurality in the context of pride and rebellion. Yet material in Genesis offered hope in the providential care of Adam and Eve, the salvation of Noah and Joseph, and the creating of the people of God from a tribal people.³

The stress Waddell laid on Matthew, especially chapters 5-7, had the effect, presumably, of emphasizing the Gospel as a new Law, or the final edition of the Law. With the stress in Matthew on works, judgment, and religious ritual,⁴ perhaps Waddell saw its use as a most appropriate link to establish for his hearers the continuity between Law and Grace, which he

¹ Waddell (MSS 8953:109, 112), 28 March, and 4 April 1852.

² Turner (1965:25-26).

³ Ibid., 62-63.

⁴ Ibid., 24.

attempted to bring together from July to November 1850.¹ The expansion of the Church, and the preaching of the Church for conversion in Acts, were clearly themes Waddell would have wanted the people to understand. The relatively well used Wisdom literature would have also held interest for the people, as well as providing opportunities for practical application of Christian belief.²

The epistles were used to some extent, with Romans heading the list, but the lack of a fully emerged church probably mitigated against their more frequent use. Also, the considerable presence of abstract theology in the epistles may have decreased their attractiveness to the Creek Town Efik, and hence their usefulness to Waddell.³

The noticeable lack of Old Testament historical material apart from Genesis, may have been as a result of Waddell being slow to present themes needing clarification from the New Testament, especially the interpretation of various Old Testament cultic practices. Some sort of Efik resistance to historical structures of narrative may also explain Waddell's use of mythological portions of Genesis, and not later Old Testament historical books.⁴

Waddell shied away from using prophetic books, probably because they would have been found as obscure to interpret in

¹ Waddell (MSS 7740:21, 23-24, 27-28, 30, 36, 46, 49), 14, 21, 28 July 1850, 11 and 25 August 1850, 1 and 29 September 1850, 3 and 17 November 1850.

² Ibid., 59-62.

³ Ibid., 38-39.

⁴ Ibid., 69-70.

Creek Town as elsewhere.¹ Lastly, the lack of apocalyptic material perhaps suggests that Waddell's priority was to plant a church in Creek Town, before bringing in complicated schemes of eschatology.

Such is the profile of the biblical material used in Hope Waddell's preaching. One is admittedly forced into a fair measure of speculation to determine how far this material penetrated into the consciousness of his Creek Town congregation. Waddell's listeners may well have heard something quite different from what Waddell intended, especially in view of the problems of communication and translation. In light of Waddell's failure to learn fully how to preach in Efik without interpreter--and the exceptional nature of Goldie's use of the vernacular from 1852--the penetration of the Word into the Creek Town world-view may have been delayed almost six years. The closing of the pioneer days of preaching in Creek Town, and the full installation of Hugh Goldie as the senior missionary from 25 May 1858, therefore must certainly mark the advent of a period in which the Gospel could no longer be rejected because its implications were not understood. From that day forward, the Bible in all its fulness was to be expounded in Creek Town, "line upon line, precept upon precept" by the tireless academic, Hugh Goldie.

4.2.2 Hugh Goldie 1858-1895

4.2.2.1 Goldie's Method of Expository Preaching

When Goldie began his leadership of the Creek Town station, preaching gave way to rigorous catechetical teaching. As James

¹ Ibid., 63-64.

Luke, who was at the station during from late 1885 to mid 1887,¹ recalled in 1929:

I sat under Goldie for fifty Sabbaths and never heard a sermon: he had more sense. The congregation ...[were] treated as a big Bible class...Somewhere in the First Book of Discipline readers are instructed to take the Sacred Books in order, and 'must not hop from place to place as the Papists do.' In ministering to the first and second generations of an uncivilized people, Goldie carried out this instruction literally...When he closed Revelation, he opened Genesis...it would be [difficult] to find a congregation anywhere at that time so thoroughly steeped in Bible truth.²

Although this method was criticized at the time by Luke and the younger generation as out-of-date, nonetheless Goldie's method of "raking" the crowded church in a friendly tone with questions on his previous exposition, was effective in laying a sure foundation for the Creek Town church.³ As early as 1855, Goldie cited apostolic precedent, and Dr. Eadie's views, as the sources for his "evangelistic" method.⁴ Goldie's preference for serial exposition of the Bible, derived first from his belief that within apostolic precedent, things relating to salvation, the soul, and the up-rooting of idolatry, took priority over addressing civil law and customs. He argued that the apostles, "left these to be gradually ameliorated or changed by the benign influence of Christian truth."⁵ Dr. John Eadie, Professor of Biblical Literature at the United Secession Divinity Hall from 1843-1846, and later Professor of

¹ Christie (MSS:1885-1887).

² Luke (1929:19).

³ Ibid., 20-21.

⁴ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.10, (1855:22-23).

⁵ Ibid.

Hermeneutics and Evidences at the United Presbyterian Divinity Hall from 1847-1876,¹ also provided Goldie with the following defence of the expository preaching method in the mission field:

The Gospel from its vitality and expansive character works outwards and onwards, affecting and renovating all things in which it comes in contact. It renews the individual in heart and conduct...it passes over on external society, moulding and reforming all its improper laws and habits.²

From these positions, Goldie reasoned that continuous biblical teaching was to be the mode of evangelism, and the primary source for his call for social change at Creek Town.

Because of the endless round of exposition, clearly a U.P.C. trait, but also a function of Goldie's scholarly thoroughness, the Creek Town church was never in any danger of receiving a distorted view of the Christian message; after Goldie produced the Efik New Testament in 1862³ we see a corresponding lack of references to sermon titles and isolated texts in favour of systematic, repetitive, and concurrent expositions of the epistles, the Gospels, and Old Testament History. And after the Old Testament was translated by Dr. Robb in 1868,⁴ we can trace the addition of full Old Testament exposition, and even fewer references to thematic sermons. For these reasons, in this section we will rarely be able to produce lengthy extracts of Goldie's sermons and treatments of the texts. Since to his mind Goldie was simply bringing forth the scripture itself in serial fashion, without much thematic commentary, he undoubtedly thought

¹ Mackelvie (1873:686, 693); Landreth (1876:293-294).

² Ibid., Goldie citing Eadie.

³ Christie (MSS:1862).

⁴ Christie (MSS:1868).

it unnecessary to record lengthy extracts in his diary which the home constituency would ultimately read.

4.2.2.2 Goldie's Selection of Themes in Creek Town, 1858-1862

Despite his avowed intent to expound the Bible in an balanced fashion, we can discern a number of clear patterns of theological emphasis that developed during certain periods of Goldie's ministry in Creek Town. During Goldie's first year, he taught frequently as did his colleague, Alexander Robb, from the Psalms.¹ A strong emphasis on eschatology, death, and judgment can be traced in both Goldie's and Robb's teaching in 1858; Goldie, however, also offered biblical assurances of God's concern for comforting the anxious--as taught from Matthew 6.24ff.² From 1859, Robb was more frequently preaching among the Qua farms and training Efik evangelists.³ On the other hand, that year Goldie embarked on a series of practical teachings on tithing, money, and material goods.⁴ Other concerns along practical lines in 1860 were Goldie's crusade against drunkenness in the country, and restoration both of the community and of the individual through forgiveness obtained by salvation.⁵

The move on Goldie's part towards more practical subjects of discourse finds parallels in the transitional development of the evangelical sermon in Scotland after 1855.⁶ We have also seen in 1858 how Goldie balanced biblical teaching on judgment

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol. 14, (1859:47-50).

² Ibid., 47, 49, 50, 169.

³ Ibid., Vol.15, (1860:51, 118), Vol.16, (1861:119).

⁴ Ibid., Vol.14, (1859:169), Matthew 6.24, on 26 June 1859.

⁵ Ibid., Vol.15, (1860:187-188), Is. 57.14 on 26 February 1860, and Hebrews 2.3, on 24 June 1860.

⁶ Enright (1968)

with reminders of God's loving provision for all creation, using Matthew 6.24, in which God's love for the birds of the air is compared to the greater value of humans. However, it was well into the 1880s before the love of God had emerged in Goldie's preaching as dominant over older evangelical sermon themes on the Law. Goldie was clearly still open to theological influences in Britain. But these changes represent not so much developments of theological content, as responses on Goldie's part to his perceptions of particular needs as they arose in Creek Town. Indeed, in 1861, after teaching on Romans, 1st Corinthians, and the prophecies about Christ using Doddridge's *Harmony*, Goldie taught a series on Tuesday nights in which he reviewed:

...the instances in Scripture where God had exercised forbearance against rebellious people, and of the invariable punishment that followed, in order to reclaim those amongst us who have gone back to the immoralities of the country.¹

Clearly his evangelical theology of sinful man, the need for atonement, and a pilgrimage of sanctification was still intact, and emphasised. Such themes were not so dominant, however, they prevented Goldie the luxury of preaching on proper attire for women in 1862; in order, presumably, that the men would avoid temptation.²

4.2.2.3 Goldie's Preaching After the Publication of the Efik New Testament, 1863-1868

Up until 1863, before the publication of the New Testament, the growth of the Creek Town church had been desultory for

¹ Ibid., Vol.18, (1862:113-114).

² Ibid., 135; Goldie cites Genesis 3.21, and 1 Timothy 2.9 as evidence, on 31 August 1862.

almost ten years.¹ In 1863, after the Efik New Testament was available, Goldie called attention to the value of the Gospel and the privilege of the Efik people in having access to it. He urged that they should therefore "pay attention to the one thing needful": i.e., personal salvation.² Thus for the next five years--until the publication of the Old Testament in 1868--Goldie attempted to widen further the biblical base of his teaching in order to promote more personal conversions. Again, the essence of his theology did not change. Goldie merely saw new opportunities to stress the need for conversion now that the New Testament was available to the people of Creek Town. Over that period, Goldie's regular exposition included the Epistles to Revelation, the Gospels, the miracles, parables, and prophecies of Christ, along with teaching on Proverbs and cameos from Old Testament history.³

More significantly however, Goldie concentrated from 1863 to 1868 on unfolding the theme of personal conversion from every conceivable angle. In April 1864 this took the form of a sermon from 2 Corinthians 2.15 and 16, which focused on the mission's apostolic representation of the Gospel as a fragrant aroma of life to those being saved, but of death to those rejecting the word of God.⁴ Later in the year, Goldie appealed for his hearers to "come out from their midst and be separate", for what agreement has the temple of the living God with idols?⁵ The

¹ See Appendix I.

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.18, (1863:169); 5 April 1863.

³ Ibid., Vol.19, (1864:115-116); Vol.20, (1865:115); Vol.1 new series, (1866-67:114).

⁴ Ibid., Vol.19, (1864:134).

⁵ Ibid., Vol.20, (1865:35); 23 November 1864.

apostolic injunction to turn from vain idols to the living God was manifest in Goldie's call to the Efik to walk with God. Variations on the theme of simple belief in Jesus as the way to salvation and purpose in life were likewise presented in 1865, focusing on: the mercy of God to shine his light in Christ upon those in darkness and to guide them, from Luke 1.78-79;¹ Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch to demonstrate how an African received Jesus Christ through the scriptures, belief, and baptism, from Acts 8.26ff.;² and finally how conversion to Christ brings light to the sleeper, and redeems the foolishness of the past by believing and understanding the will of God, from Ephesians 5.14.³

The theme of simple belief in Christ was again represented in 1866 when Goldie exhorted his people to "call on the name of the Lord" for salvation. This was what the Efik should "render to the Lord for all their benefits", (Psalm 116.12).⁴ Goldie also made the practical steps towards salvation explicit when he preached about Peter's response to the question, "What shall we do?", in Acts 2.37-41. At the same time he reminded the Efik of their sin before God, and the need for repentance and baptism in order to receive forgiveness and the Holy Spirit.⁵ Further lessons were given on the meaning and blessings of new life from Baptism into Christ in 1866⁶ and 1867,⁷ as well as

¹ Ibid., Vol.20, (1865:204); 9 April 1865.

² Ibid., Vol.1 new series, (1866-1867:7); 24 September 1865.

³ Ibid., 88; 31 December 1865.

⁴ Ibid., 153; 15 April 1866.

⁵ Ibid., 231; 31 September 1866.

⁶ Ibid., 310; Romans 6.3 and 4, 31 September 1866.

⁷ Ibid., 376; on the Benefits of the ordinance of Baptism, from Matthew 28.18-20, on 31 March 1867.

admonitions to be imitators of those who had left their sluggishness for faith.¹ All such teaching makes it quite clear that the years from around 1863 to 1868 represented a period of conscious effort by Goldie to promote the benefits of trusting in Jesus for salvation. However, though we hear more on the love of God, it is not to the total exclusion of preaching on the law and man's sin. With Goldie then, we do not get clear breaks or transitions between his preaching on the Law and Grace--because his preaching consistently presented these two themes together for balance. It is clear that the needs of the context are operating more on Goldie's teaching--especially in regards to his teaching on turning away from vain idols--than currents in Scottish exposition.

Around 1868, we get a hint that Goldie was feeling frustrated with the response to his teaching programme. In an 1868 volume of the *Missionary Record*, Goldie wrote an article on the obstacles to evangelism in the context--focusing on the "heathenism" and the slave trade which broke people into petty, mistrusting tribes.² The article reasserted the need to overthrow both spiritual evil and the social system in Calabar simultaneously, by preaching the Gospel and, thus, "making all things new". About this time, from 1868-1871, we have no record of Goldie's teaching, although he was on furlough only during the period from April 1867 to June 1868. The omissions in his records taken together with the article mentioned above, may indicate that he felt his efforts at evangelism and teaching

¹ Ibid., 377; Hebrews 6.12, 21 April 1867.

² Ibid., Vol.II new series, (1868:188).

--which had been lukewarmly received--needed to be accompanied by denunciations of social custom, which did not merit inclusion in reports to the *Missionary Record*. Certainly the omissions signal some shift in Goldie's perception of the ministry at Calabar, which we shall explore further.

4.2.2.4 Samuel Edgerly's Preaching During Goldie's Furlough, 1867-1868

During Goldie's furlough, Samuel Edgerly, junior, took over at Creek Town. Although Edgerly spent much of his time exploring and preaching in the upper reaches of the Cross-river area, he also actively ministered in Creek Town during and after Goldie's furlough. He can therefore provide some examples of the ministry at Creek Town during Goldie's absence, and fill in the gaps of Goldie's preaching documentation. In some ways, Edgerly's theological material reinforces Goldie's work of the period, with all the continuities with the developments in Scottish preaching over the period from 1855 that that implies. But in other ways, his work at least in Creek Town had a quirky characteristic that suggests his explorer's personality gave rise to vigorous and unconventional theological preaching themes.

Edgerly's preaching in 1867--after Goldie left--offers to us numerous examples of his predilection for unusual themes. We do not get any strong preaching on man's sin, or Christ's atonement, but rather see theological concerns which may have appeared quite pertinent and practical to the Efik of Creek Town. Edgerly's sermon on 7 June 1867 from Luke 11.1-13--on obtaining spiritual and material blessings from prayer--certainly presented a benevolent God within the context of

religious ideas and practical concerns resonant with the Efik.¹ Such a theme follows on Goldie's attempts to portray the blessings of salvation, outlined above during the same period.

Edgerly's next two sermons appear quite out of place in the development of teaching at Creek Town. Again on 7 June 1867, he preached a sermon from Genesis 32.1, on the Angels of God meeting Joseph.² On 23 September 1867, he taught the story of Jesus casting out the demons from the daughter of the Syro-Phoenician woman.³ Both teachings explore the meeting of the human and the dynamic world of spiritual beings, both divine and demonic. Each theme makes the point that walking with God and Christ gives one access to divine spirits that can aid humans, and also provides power for humans over demonic spirits. These are not the normal Western sermon themes aimed at liberation from sin into salvation. Rather, Edgerly appears to have directly addressed from scriptural material an Efik need for liberation from demonic adversaries, as well as the Efik propensity to seek contact with spiritual intermediaries. Christianity, at least in these texts, appears to have something to say about the primal religious features of the Efik, even affirming that world-view at certain points.

Two months later, on 29 November 1869, Edgerly presented a discussion about the place of the missionaries and teachers in the community and before God, as well as the community's

¹ Ibid., Vol.1 new series, (1866-1867:437).

² Ibid., 438.

³ Ibid., Vol.II new series, (1868-69:7); See Mark 7.25ff.

responsibility before God.¹ A curious note of communality appears in this theme. There is a lack of explicit reference to the sins of the individual and community; there is also an interesting hint that the missionaries have responsibilities to the people before God, and that they have cast their lot in with the people. Edgerly's preaching sounds the note of solidarity with the Efik more than any previous missionary had expressed it.

Clearly Edgerly embodies some of the contents of transitional Scottish evangelical preaching: love of God, less dogma, more practicality, with perhaps a hint of incarnational theology. But Edgerly's background was not conventional. He arrived in Calabar in July 1856, and was trained and afterwards ordained in Edinburgh only in November of 1863.² So his uncharacteristic sympathy towards the Efik in his preaching, was a function of his exposure to the Calabar context rather than his theological education. The development of his preaching, therefore, must be seen more in response to the needs of his hearers, than due to developments in home theological currents. And his individuality--his searching, exploring personality--may have caused his thoughts and his teaching to be directed more towards the frontier, and the peculiar demands of its people. Certainly no other missionaries, either before or after him, picked up and developed such themes. Edgerly's work would prove to be merely a brief, yet highly promising excursion towards addressing often ignored Efik religious concerns in Creek Town. He accomplished, however, his most remembered work later in pioneer exploration

¹ Ibid., Vol.3 new series (1870-1871:332).

² Christie (MSS); See section on "Roll of the missionaries".

and evangelism outside the urban areas of the Cross-River basin. Perhaps he should be equally remembered for his effective preaching in Creek Town during this period.

4.2.2.5 "The Second Stage at Creek Town": Goldie's Preaching After 1870

After returning from furlough, Goldie finally provides us a clue around 1870 as to why he had broken off his attempts to promote individual conversions. He maintained that Calabar had in 1870 entered a second stage in its evolution. In years previous to this, the primary agenda had been for Calabar to receive the Gospel, but now it was set to begin preaching the Gospel to herself.¹ Whether or not Goldie's analysis was strictly correct in historical terms is debatable, yet this statement was at least reflective of his new guiding methodology. Certainly references to conversion drop almost completely out of his documented sermons after 1871. In their place, we instead find even more solid, expansive bible exposition, with a slight emphasis on the moral progress of those who have become Christians.² Proverbs, and the poetical and prophetic Old Testament books such as Ecclesiastes and Jeremiah again become prominent in this period.³ Goldie seems to have retreated to the broad application of the entire range of the biblical materials in order to assist preparing those

¹ Ibid., Vol.3, new series, (1870-1871:541).

² Ibid., Vol. 4, new series, (1872-1873:544); Vol. 5, new series, (1874-1875:182, 523); Vol.6, new series, (1876-1877:187).

³ Ibid. See note 153 above for all citations.

Efik who were called to preach to their countrymen.¹ So again, Goldie's perceptions of the changing needs of his Creek Town hearers, remained responsible for changes in the stress of his preaching. There was no change evident in Goldie's actual theology, indicating that developments in Scottish theology subsequent to his arrival in Creek Town influenced his teaching only negligibly.

4.2.2.6 Edgerly's Preaching Supplements A Break in Goldie's Preaching Documentation in the late 1870s

In the period of the late 1870s, Goldie's documented teaching again becomes sporadic, and we again turn to Edgerly. Here we see Edgerly continuing his development towards practical teaching, less on atonement and doctrine, and more on the example of Christ as demonstrating the love of God. In 1876, it is not only his message but his method that points forward instead of backward. We see Edgerly quite prepared to enter dialogue and answer questions on the stickiest of topics: monogamy.² Clearly he was not free to advocate polygamy. But there is a hint that he tried to dispel the Efik assumption that monogamy would make a man poor (one of the worst situations from an Efik point of view) in solid practical terms, rather than on merely dogmatic grounds.³

Edgerly was still motivated to speak on the mission's more traditional evangelical themes: man's need for a Saviour, the

¹ Unfortunately there are no helpful references to any explicit method of training them.

² Ibid., Vol.6, (1876-1877).

³ Ibid. Edgerly responded to such pointed questions as, "Did monogamy make a wife sassy, or did a man become poor by having to hire help?"

value of man's soul, and the joy of those who love Christ. He used these very themes in personal interviews with both Efik and up-river peoples in 1880-1881.¹ But Edgerly certainly took the Creek Town ministry in directions away from the older evangelical sermon, as it is exemplified in Waddell's and Goldie's early work. In Edgerly's preaching, we can discern movement towards addressing biblical teaching to specific spiritual concerns of the Efik, which were previously dismissed for the most part as foolish or sinful. Nonetheless, Edgerly's work was to remain an interesting, but isolated initiative until well after the 1880s.

4.2.2.7 Goldie's Preaching from 1880-1895

Goldie's own work in the 1880s, the best documented examples being his evangelism among the up-river areas of Umon and Ibium in November, 1884, was also more practical and concentrated on the love of God.² Likewise, we can discern some of the first references to an incarnational theology in his preaching.³ His preaching up-river also concentrated again on the old themes of "throwing away idols to trust in God as a Creator" and "man's violation of God's law". Apart from some new themes about love and "a redeemer in whom dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead", his preaching in these up-river areas resembled the type of preaching done by the mission on first contact with the Efik down-river in the late 1840s.⁴ Goldie, in one of his last documented instances of teaching, trained the

¹ Ibid., Vol.1, 2nd new series, (1880-1881:182).

² Ibid., Vol.6, 2nd new series, (1885:300-304, 326), 11, 14, 15, 16 November 1884.

³ Ibid., 302-303; 16 November 1884.

⁴ Ibid., 327-328; 19, 20, 21, 23 November 1884

students for the 1889 session on the theme, "The Work of Christ in Redemption".¹ This again suggests that little in Goldie's theology had changed since his arrival. He had merely developed broader theological themes in response to his perceptions that the Creek Town church needed more comprehensive teaching than he presented in "first-contact" situations.

Goldie, like Waddell, also began to be concerned in the late years of his ministry around 1889 with reinstating fallen converts. He used such scriptures as 1 Peter 1.3-5 to argue that those who become born again are protected by the power of God.² He also resumed an effort to obtain more explicit responses from his Creek town listeners, calling for people to "come out on the Lord's side."³ But around 1890 in an interesting departure from Waddell, Goldie began to do some extended teaching on the work of the Holy Spirit. He presented the Spirit as means of grace to lead people to Christ, and reminded his congregation of the blessings which flow in the present life from Christ to the sinner united to Him in faith.⁴ Late in the day then, Goldie seemed to be learning that God could do a new work, or at least his servants needed to learn how to express the old work in a new form. But even as Goldie learned these lessons, he was increasingly less able to communicate them in his old age, and the torch began to pass to a new generation. Nonetheless, as Luke maintained, Goldie's solid biblical teaching proved to be

¹ Ibid., Vol.11, 2nd new series, (1890:332).

² Ibid., Vol.10, 2nd new series, (1889:310); October 1889.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., Vol.11, 2nd new series, (1890:332).

the foundation for the very substantial growth in the Creek Town church which had certainly begun by 1895.¹

4.2.2.8 Goldie's use of Scripture

We possess 89 separate references to what Goldie taught during his mission career in Calabar, largely taken from his diary and yearly reports found in the *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church*. Most of these references--especially from the yearly reports--merely document the biblical texts or books from which Goldie taught in serial manner. This is increasingly so after the publication of the entire Bible in Efik in 1868. Included in these eighty-nine references are also "sermons" which consisted of private instructions and lessons Goldie taught to individuals outside of his public preaching. Although it is clear that Goldie treated the entire Bible in his exposition, his particular use of certain biblical books stands out in his work.² In the sermons Goldie preached on chosen texts, (as distinct from his serial exposition of the Bible), the book by far most often preached on was Matthew. Goldie also had a tendency to preach from the Psalms when he was was not engaged in teaching a book in its entirety. After Matthew and the Psalms, Goldie used material from the books of Genesis and Acts equally frequently when preaching thematic sermons, rather than sermons in a series. These rankings, thus, represent the books of the Bible which contained Goldie's favourite texts, or texts which he felt could bear repeating in light of the spiritual needs in

¹ Luke (1927:21).

² For quantitative evidence of all assertions on Goldie's biblical use, see Appendix III.

Creek Town.

To discover what biblical books may have been most covered in Goldie's teaching, we need to look, however, at the ranking of which books were taught most in series. From the documentation we possess, consisting mainly of Goldie's yearly reports in the *U.P. Missionary Record* about what he taught in particular year, the following rank order of his biblical use can be presented. Despite his attempt to treat evenly scripture, all four of the Gospels were documented as the books most often taught in series by Goldie. As regards both the books Goldie most often treated consecutively, and the book which contained his most cited texts, Goldie clearly stressed the Gospel of Matthew more than any other biblical book. The Old Testament historical material along with the Epistles were used next, both approximately equal in their frequency. Of the Epistles, I Corinthians ranked highest in the number of times it was documented as having been taught. Next in order of frequency were Psalms and Proverbs. It is interesting to note that Acts and Genesis (as distinct from the larger thematic study of "Old Testament History"), concentrating on the beginnings of God's covenant relationship to Israel and the Church, were treated only as they came up in Goldie's regular exposition. It appears that Goldie did not go out of his way to teach on these books in series, although a high proportion of texts in his thematic sermons were texts taken from these books. The apocalyptic material was stressed so infrequently that one assumes it also must have been taken up only as it arrived in the normal course of Goldie's teaching.

No extreme bias in Goldie's use of biblical books can be

discerned. This is due to his intentional, serial, and exhaustive method of biblical exposition. Consequently, Goldie's successors J.T. Dean and W.T. Weir were quickly able to capitalize on the considerable biblical knowledge that existed in Creek Town.

4.2.3 Goldie's Creek Town Successors and Developments in Preaching

Without detracting from Goldie's accomplishments, the growth of the church at Creek Town was probably inevitable. So was a development in the style of preaching under the younger missionaries arriving there. Although there is very little record of Dean's and Weir's actual preaching in the 1890s or early 1900s, the records we do possess suggest that the Scottish pulpit initiatives from around 1880 on--the more "liberal" evangelical sermon--can be found only in rather embryonic forms in Creek Town and up-river.

Dean's comment in 1893 about the lack of interest on the part of the Creek Town people to his preaching on the story of God's love, eternal life, and the life of Christ as an example, suggest that aspects of the "liberal" evangelical sermon were already present.¹ There are no references, from this point on, to any missionaries undertaking serial biblical exposition, which Luke maintained was not attractive to the generation after Goldie.² The love of God, rather than his laws, was now stressed, while Christ was presented as an example of ethical

¹ Dean maintained that the present, material life figured so strongly in the minds of the Efik in 1893, that these themes did not offer much attraction. U.P.C.M.R., Vol.15, 2nd new series, (1893:89).

² Luke (1927:19-20).

behaviour, alongside his role as redeemer. There are no other recorded instances of Dean's teaching in Creek Town, so if other approaches were used during his ministry, we cannot substantiate them. Our only sources suggest that during 1893 Dean preached with these characteristics, which bear some resemblance to themes stressed by "liberal" evangelical preaching. It is possible that this was his theological approach even up until his departure in 1897, but in the absence of much conclusive evidence, we cannot be sure.¹ Dean would have probably been slow to call his preaching "liberal", and so perhaps should we.

The ministry of W.T. Weir, which began in Creek Town from 1896, consisted initially of preaching to outlying areas.² However, Weir preached in Creek Town on 19 August 1900, using the text, "In my Father's house there are many mansions."; moreover, Weir also spoke to Eyo Nsa II on his deathbed in May 1902 about "trusting all to God the Father" on the eve of departing this life.³ Taken together with Dean's earlier reference to preaching on eternal life, both the Fatherhood of God and eternal life were certainly more than incidental themes at Creek Town--especially around the turn of the twentieth century. On balance, Dean and Weir's preaching contains hints of a clear break with the preaching of Waddell and Goldie. Whether or not this development fully constitutes the emergence of the "liberal" evangelical approach in Creek Town, must remain a conjecture in view of our limited sources.

¹ Christie (MSS:1897).

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.18, 2nd new series, (1897:18, 48-49).

³ Ibid., Vol.21, 2nd new series, (1900:342); See U.F.C.M.R., (1902:406).

Due to the Mission Council Scheme and the need for District Missionaries to oversee the work of various native evangelists, we get a corresponding lack of references to direct missionary preaching after 1901.¹ What we do have is a record of a number of Weir's attempts to gather Christians and evangelists together for teaching in conferences. In these conferences, Weir gave free rein to practical themes of moral duty. In 1905, at a conference on "Revival", Weir spoke of "Our Duty as Christians" in three parts: Living for Christ, Preaching and Teaching, and self-Denial.² Likewise, at another conference in November 1908, Weir taught on another set of practical topics related to the Christian lifestyle. He spoke on 25 November on the topic of "The relation of the Christian to the things of the World", in particular reference to worldly pleasures, Calabar customs, and native plays.³ The next day the theme was "Principles to Guide a Christian in Business"--involving issues of trading with non-Christians and on debt.⁴ Weir continued his themes of practical morality on 27 November, by teaching on "The Duty of the Christian": with respect to the World, to God's work, and to those outside the Church.⁵

Both Dean's and Weir's work was fittingly addressed to the needs of the Creek Town. Their preaching clearly spoke to the historical context of the entire Presbyterian Church as it

¹ The first meeting of the Old Calabar Mission Council, which replaced the Committee, was held on 12 September 1901. See Christie (MSS:1901).

² U.F.C.M.R., (1905:327).

³ Ibid., (1909:67).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

found itself faced with the colonial "pacification" after 1901. Indeed, the need for such practical and moral teaching was highly expedient for the Church caught up in rapidly changing events. Their work shows signs of some theological development influenced by Scottish initiatives, which took them away from the themes preached by Waddell and Goldie. This development is to be expected, since Dean and Weir were members of a new generation, but is less apparent in the documentation of their preaching. However, the unique theological content of Dean's and Weir's preaching we possess, was based perhaps equally on response to the growth of the Creek Town church, and upon their perceptions of the growing British colonial presence.

The results of practical preaching initiatives in Creek Town are clear enough. The reasons for numerical Church growth in Creek Town are complex, and will be treated separately later. It should suffice to say here, however, that the growth of the Creek Town church should be put down in no small part to the colonial subjugation of the region, and the desire for the Cross-River peoples to identify with the victor's religion. But the Creek Town church's maturation to the point at which they embarked upon mission themselves, cannot be explained without reference to the biblical foundations of Goldie's early ministry, or the practical emphasis beginning around 1871 on equipping Efik evangelists. It is also significant that under Dean's and Weir's tutelage, extending from 1891 to 1912, the Creek Town congregation became self-supporting, contributed to out-station expenses, and even mounted initiatives to evangelize

their neighbouring peoples.¹ Colonial pacification alone cannot explain the historical facts of the expanding Creek Town church.

4.3 The Representation of the Gospel in Duke Town

4.3.1 William Anderson 1849-1889

4.3.1.1 Descriptions of Anderson's First Preaching Initiatives, 1849

After arriving on 2 February 1849, Anderson began his preaching programme in April.² In a letter dated April 18, Anderson described what the Sabbaths were like in the early days at Duke Town:

Immediately afterwards [morning family devotionals [with Capt. Lewis from Jay's *Morning and Evening Exercises*] I go...to Mr. Youngs, to hold a meeting. I generally have to wait an hour...before I can begin....He has sent to let Archibong and others know that I have come 'to hold palaver for God's word.' When a few gentlemen...with their attendants have come, we go on with the meeting. While I read out the 100th Psalm, all who do not understand English smile and whisper to each other, and think it very funny...I now see that it is often merely the expression of wonder...not always of contempt. When I begin to preach, and Mr. Young to explain, if the subject be mere history or incident, all are attentive; if doctrinal, the fat ones soon begin to nod, and Mr. Young soon wearies.³

One of Anderson's earliest preaching themes in April 1849 was also recounted in the same letter entry:

One Sabbath my subject was the Flood. All listened most attentively to the account of the falling rains and rising river and cries of drowning men. They attended to the description of Noah's big ship and could remember something of its dimensions. At the close, however, I referred to the destruction which awaits our world by fire, and spoke of that awful day when the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, etc., and the dead,

¹ Luke (1927:21).

² Christie (MSS:1849); Marwick (1897:208).

³ Marwick (1897:208).

small and great must stand before God. When I uttered the words, 'the world and all that is in it shall be burned up,' they could bear it no longer. Mr. Young exclaimed, "It will be long time before that", and the other gentlemen begged him to say to me, "We've got plenty to-day--it be time for stop. ...I have generally as yet kept to the moral law, for I see more and more that Christ is not valued where there is no conviction of sin, and this cannot be felt where the law is unknown. I always close, however, with preaching Christ and him crucified."¹

Waddell, Jameson, Goldie, and Edgerly had all preceded Anderson in Duke Town from 1846-1849. They had often preached on the Creator God, prayer, and the value of God's word, as well as stressing the moral law and man's failure before it. Anderson progressed from those theological foundations, and from the beginning of his ministry, he reinforced his predecessors' teaching on the sinful nature of man before God. In early 1849, he preached the Ten Commandments,² the Bible as God's Word,³ and death and judgment.⁴ Along with these topics, Anderson taught on elements of Christ's own teaching and Old Testament history, such as Abraham's life,⁵ as well as giving

¹ Ibid.

² Marwick, op.cit., 210; also see U.P.C.M.R., Vol.5 (1850:43), 5 August 1849, "The Giving of the Law to Moses."

³ Marwick, op.cit., 218. Anderson gave a large Bible to the new king Archibong on 4 June 1849, with the following scriptures inscribed: Deuteronomy 18.18,19; Psalm 2; Proverbs 20.28; Jeremiah 17.18-27; Revelation 19.16; Anderson read the passages and explained them briefly to Archibong. The themes of the value of God's Word and keeping the Sabbath, along with the responsibilities of kings before God were prominent.

⁴ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.5, (1850:26), 24 June 1849, "Death and Judgment", from Hebrews 9.27.

⁵ Ibid., 26; 10 June 1849; See also Anderson (MSS 8944:11,16,18,20), 16 March 1851, Isaiah 26.3; 13 April 1851, Isaiah, 35.8-10; 27 April 1851, 1 Samuel 6.20; 11 May 1851, Jeremiah 8.20, 22.

an overview of Christ's ministry in what he called "Gospel histories".¹

4.3.1.2 The Campaign Against the Killing of Slaves, and Other Obstacles to Preaching in Duke Town, 1850-1851

As discussed in an earlier chapter, Anderson pressed hard during 1850 to convince Archibong to initiate prohibitions regarding the killing of slaves.² Of course, as Waddell and Goldie had done before him, Anderson also accompanied his denunciations of sin before the Law with general references to the grace of Jesus Christ.³ In particular, Anderson depicted Jesus as a friend, in order to convey a sense of Jesus' nearness and care for people, in September 1850:

I was much cheered the other Sabbath at one of our meetings, in Antika Cobham's. I was speaking of the friendship of Jesus--Haddison interpreting--and brought in as an illustration an anecdote of a man who had three friends. It is well known, so that it would be out of place to take up here. It is given in the seventh of Todd's *Lectures to Children*. At the conclusion, one of Antika's wives, who had been paying marked attention...declared openly, in her own language, that from that time she chose Jesus as her friend.⁴

Since Anderson used this illustration directly from Todd's *Lectures for Children*, we will quote it in full:

¹ Ibid., 8, 42; 22 April 1849, Matthew 5.7,8,9, and 20 July 1849, "The Pharisee and the Publican". See also Anderson (MSS 8944:2,5) 5 January 1851, Luke 10.42; 2 February 1851, Mark 15.31.

² Marwick, op.cit., 233,254; 6 February 1850, and 13 October 1850.

³ Ibid., Vol.6, (1851:104); 24 November 1850, "One Great Sacrifice", Hebrews 10.1-18.

⁴ Marwick, op.cit., 246.

...though we want a friend all our lives, there is one hour when we very much need such a friend. That is the hour of dying. Let me show you why. There was once a man who had three friends. He knew them, and lived near them for years. It so happened that this man was accused to the king of the country as a bad man, and the king ordered that he should be put to death. The poor man heard of it, and was in great trouble. He expected to lose his life, and to leave his family of children in great distress. After thinking it over, and weeping over it, he determined to go to the king, and fall down before him, and get somebody to go with him, and beg his life. So he called on these three friends, and begged them to go with him. The first whom he asked, he loved best, and thought him the best friend. But no;--he would not go with him one step towards the king's court. He would not move to help him. He next went to the second friend, and whom he loved next best, and asked him to go. So they set out; but when they came to the gates of the king's court, this friend stopped, and would not go in with him, and ask for his life. Then he went to the third friend, and the one whom he loved the least, and asked him to help him. This friend was known to the king, and beloved by him. So he took him by the hand, and led him in to the king, and interceded, or begged for him, and the king pardoned the condemned man, for the sake of his friend who interceded for him!

Now see how this story applies here. People have three things, which they think of, and which they call their friends. These three things are,--1. The world; that is, property and houses, and all the fine things which they have. 2. Their friends. 3. Jesus Christ. The first of these friends is loved the most. Our friends are loved next best; and Jesus Christ least of all. So, when we are taken sick, and must die, and go in before the great King, we call upon these to help us. The world, and the things of the world, however, cannot go with us one step. They must all be useless the moment we lie on the bed of death. The next, which is our friends, can go with us through the sickness, and as far as the King's gates, the gates of death, and there they stop and leave us. But Jesus Christ, that friend of whom we think so little, and whom we love so little, he can go in with us before the great

King of kings, and plead for us, intercede for us, and thus save our souls from being condemned to eternal death. This, oh! this is the time when we need him for our friend, and need him for our intercessor. He died for us, and can there be our friend, and plead for us, and save us.¹

Anderson's interest in using this particular illustration was due perhaps to its comparison the futility of trusting commercial and social success with the rewards of faith in Christ. In light of the keen commercial interests of the Calabar kings, the illustration was well adapted to the setting. We have evidence of the compelling nature of the illustration in the favourable response of one of Antika's wives. Nevertheless, a strong note of paternalism can be detected here. The use of a children's devotional source book is strong evidence that quite early in his ministry, Anderson found it helpful--to his mind at least--to preach to Efik adults as if he was ministering to children. In addition to that source, Anderson also had Gall's *Catechism of Scripture Doctrines for Infants* translated into Efik for general use, in 1850.²

The late King Eyamba's palaver house had been set aside on 13 May 1849 as the temporary place of worship in Duke Town.³ However, it soon became necessary for Anderson to itinerate from yard to yard on the Sabbath to secure the fullest hearing of the Gospel, and it became his custom to use Gall's catechism primarily in these meetings.⁴ According to Anderson, the choosing of Archibong as King, and Mr. Young as "prime minister",

¹ Todd (1859:73-75).

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol. 6, (1851:29).

³ Marwick, op.cit., 212.

⁴ Marwick, op.cit., 245-6; September 1850.

also made for the early progress of the Gospel, because the move lessened their frictions.¹ But Anderson learned over the period between November 1850 and May 1851 that despite improving the spread of his outreach, other obstacles existed to both the preaching and the reception of the Gospel in Duke Town. The old men of the town found it beneath their dignity to go to a younger man's yard for "the trifling purpose of hearing the Word of the living God."² Also, when the rains had made Eyamba's old palaver house fall down, the women and the girls were reluctant to enter the town-palaver house used by Ekpe, which was chosen as the central place to present the word of God.³ As if these obstacles to hearing preaching were not enough, Anderson's teeth gave way. He could not preach with a mouth in pain, and he was forced to return home in May 1851 for dental work.⁴

During Anderson's absence Goldie continued teaching on prevalent themes from the ministry of Jesus, such as Matthew 6.19, "Lay not up treasures upon the earth, where moth and rust corrupt."⁵ Here in Henry Cobham's yard, Goldie learned from Cobham that white ants (*nkakat*) rather than rust (*nkarafang*) were the worst agents of property destruction; indeed Cobham offered the advice that this distinction should be included in the explication of the scripture to increase the force of the illustration accordingly.⁶ Goldie accepted Henry Cobham's

¹ Marwick, op.cit., 212.

² Marwick, op.cit., 253.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., 255.

⁵ U.P.C.M.R., Vol. 7, (1852:118-119).

⁶ Ibid.

reading, classing the *nkakat* among the agents of destruction.¹

4.3.1.3 Anderson's Preaching Upon His Return from Furlough, 1852

Upon returning to Duke Town in January 1852, Anderson resumed his teaching on Old Testament and Gospel history as well as on the teachings of Christ.² Previous to 1852, we have rather full extracts of Anderson's preaching, both from the U.P. *Missionary Record* and in Marwick's biography, which uses select portions of Anderson's diary which has not come down to us completely. But during 1852, we find little trace of his teaching in these sources. Fortunately, we do have a portion of Anderson's diary that includes his preaching over 1851-1852, along with a few references to 1853.³ However, in these sources we merely find listings of his preaching texts and titles. Over 1852, then, we can do no more than list the texts and sermon themes we can tease from Anderson's diary.

In 1852, while taking his turn preaching with Goldie, Anderson explored themes of death and exile from Job 16.22⁴ and Psalm 42.6⁵ respectively, balancing such expositions with comfort from John 14.2⁶ on belief in God, and the Christian's prepared place in heaven. Anderson preached most frequently

¹ Ibid.

² See Anderson (MSS 8943:48-71) for 21 references to his preaching texts for the year 1852, with 9 references to Old Testament historical texts, 8 texts from the Gospels, and 4 from Acts/Epistles.

³ Anderson (MSS 8944, 2982).

⁴ Anderson (MSS 8944:48), 11 January 1852.

⁵ Ibid., 50, 25 January 1852.

⁶ Ibid., 51, 1 February 1852.

during that year from the Gospel of John.¹ Indeed, on 28 March 1852, he made a relatively early and significant reference to God as a spirit--requiring spiritual worship--from John 4.24.² Perhaps even more importantly, Anderson preached his first discourse in Efik on 12 September 1852, from Leviticus 8.22, on Moses offering up "the ram of ordination" to consecrate Aaron and his sons.³ He was very encouraged to learn that the presentation was intelligible.⁴ Such encouragement led him to preach on a favourite text the following Sabbath, Joshua 24.15, "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve...but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord."⁵ From then on it appears that Anderson was fully committed to preaching in the vernacular, and was well understood.⁶

4.3.1.4 Anderson's Preaching on the Conviction of Sin, Death, and Judgment, 1853-1862

From 1853 to around 1863, Marwick's biography and the U.P. Mission Magazine resume with more copious references and extracts from Anderson's preaching. We can therefore quote these larger extracts.

By 1853, although Anderson had ministered in Duke Town for over three years, he still found that the Efik there had not been convinced of their corrupt state before the holiness of God and

¹ During 1852, Anderson used themes from John six times out of the 21 total references extant. Indeed, there was a translation available of the Gospel of John in 1852, which may account for the higher incidence of Anderson's use of this Gospel. See *Books in Efik* in Appendix VI for excerpt.

² Anderson (MSS 8944:57).

³ Ibid., 68.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., 69, 71.

⁶ Ibid.

His Law. After coming through a near death experience himself in December, Anderson committed himself to the display of the hatefulness of sin, the value of the Bible and the work of Christ, as well as the necessity to prepare for eternal life in view of the vanity of all below.¹ It is therefore easy to understand the vigour of Anderson's comments on death from 6 January, 1853:

Spoke...as a man brought back from the brink of the grave...to assure all...that nothing is of any avail to a man when he comes to die, except the Word of God, and an interest in the Saviour of sinners.²

Thereafter, on 27 February 1853, Anderson took the theme of "the folly of all things here below", and expounded 1 Corinthians 10:19-22:

The passage afforded ample opportunity, which I endeavoured to embrace, of showing the worthlessness of Idems and Idoks, and all the other objects of superstitious regard which abound here--and the worthlessness and wickedness of giving things in sacrifice to idols--the incompatibility of God's service with that of devils, demons, or Egbo--the folly and danger of fighting against God. A goodly number...listened to what was said on these four points with great attention.³

There is also an extant copy of a discourse on this text in Efik, which was delivered on 15 May 1853, which will be treated in more detail in the next chapter. The repetition of this theme indicates it was a priority in Anderson's ministry during that period; the rendering of the sermon into Efik is also evidence that Anderson was committed to making these texts fully understood

¹ Ibid., 80.

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.8, (1853:297).

³ Marwick, op.cit., 276.

in the vernacular. Likewise during this period, the Creation and Fall of Man was treated in Efik, to reinforce the sinfulness of humans to a people who more readily recognized breaches of social protocol than any moral failure before God.¹

The themes that Anderson came to value after his near death experience formed the basis of his preaching from 1853 to 1862. Both Marwick's biography and the U.P. mission magazine contain fairly full coverage of Anderson's actual words during this period. It becomes easier to find full examples of Anderson's teaching over this nine year period. In April 1854, Anderson began to encourage a number of young believers under his care who had come under persecution. He urged them to remember the value of the word of God in such circumstances:

the demeanour of the young men at Creek Town on the occasion...is an illustration and evidence of the truth of the text, 'the word of God is quick and powerful;' the ever *living* and *life-giving* word; the ever *strong* and *strength-giving* word; producing similar effects in all who cordially embrace it in every age, and in every land. We see its life and power in the case of Joshua and Caleb; in the case of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, etc.; in the case of martyr in former years in Britain itself; and more recently in Madagascar; and in the case of these few young men in Old Calabar.²

In light of Anderson's close brush with death, it is quite natural that he would emphasise the life and "strength-giving" character found in trusting in Word.

Eight years later, Anderson is found still addressing the themes of looking to God and trusting the Bible rather than the customs of the area for the way of salvation. In the following

¹ Ibid., 281; 12 June 1853.

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.9, (1854:169), 12 April 1854.

excerpt, following closely on the great fire which occurred in Duke Town on 12 April 1862, we can see Anderson taking the opportunity to preach on a few other themes he found important since his near death experience--such as the hatefulness of sin, the value of the work of Christ, and the vanity of trusting in things below:

Spoke seriously today to King Archibong, after public service today [20 April] about the wickedness and foolishness of trusting anything, save God himself, as a protection from fire, famine, sickness, or any other evil. He pleaded the worship of, or rather by, Ndem Efik had been taught by God to the fathers of the Calabar people, just as he had taught the fathers of us white men to worship God in Bible fashion. I endeavoured to show him that there is but one Father of all, and one book, or law for all; and that whoever disregards this one Mediator and this one Book is a rebel against God.¹

On 28 April 1862, while on one of his itinerant preaching rounds, Anderson taught along similar lines about the folly of trusting in the religion of Ndem Efik:

They complain of fires, sicknesses and palavers with white men. These, I tried to show them, are just the means employed by God to chastise them for their obstinate rejection of him and his word. I told them that I would not be a true friend to them, or a faithful servant of God, if I did not warn them that their country can have neither peace nor prosperity till they change their course. Almost forgot to state that the late great reduction in the price of palm-oil is one of the things which at present distress them. This also, I assured them, cometh from the Lord.²

For Anderson, the preaching on death and preparation for

¹ Ibid., Vol.17, (1862:137).

² Ibid.

eternal life,¹ and the ever present biblical opposition to idols occupied much of his attention during the period of the mid 1850s to the early 1860s.² Of course, preaching against evil customs in the country also had a large share of the teaching thrust from 1854³ through 1862.⁴ With regard to "evil" customs, an interesting sermon not lacking in humour occurred at Henny Cobham's yard in July 1858. Here, Anderson shamed Cobham out of smoking during church by the following appeal:

...suppose I in my country this day and tell my country people, say, I go to Henny Cobham's yard Sabbath morning, and he and his people come hear God's word, but all the time we sing first hymn and pray first prayer for God, Henny Cobham sit in his arm-chair, smoking a cigar--all man wonder, say, 'This be strange thing for true.' Some laugh, and some sorry. Henny exclaimed, 'True!' and the cigar vanished *instanter*.

And thus, Anderson addressed another Calabar custom which he felt inhibited the proper listening to the Word. But apart from such signs of humour, during the almost ten years before the publishing of the vernacular New Testament in 1862, Anderson

¹ Ibid., Vol.10, (1855:131), on Death, from Naaman the Syrian, to Mr. Young on his deathbed, 4 February 1855; also Anderson's last words to Thomas Hogan before death on 4 August 1861, were to ask him, "if he believed in Jesus as his Saviour, and was able to commit all matters into his hands." Upon positive response, Anderson replied, "Good-bye; hold by that, and you'll find all right." See Marwick, op.cit., 395.

² Ibid., Vol. 11, (1856:152), 29 May 1856, on idols from Deuteronomy 32.39; Vol.16, (1861:199), 5 July 1861, Anderson used 1 Kings 15.11,13, to persuade King Eyamba's son to throw away Ibok.

³ Ibid., Vol.9, (1854:171), June 1854.

⁴ Ibid., Vol.16, (1861:42,54,197), 2 December 1860; 18 May 1861. These sermons have been treated in detail in chapter two. Also reference to preaching against armed Nkas in market place, to both people within the church and out of it, "that God would certainly visit the town for procedure like this," was registered in Vol.17, (1862:137), 6 April 1862.

soberly concentrated on particular sins that could be repented from concretely. Throughout this period Anderson repeatedly stressed man's precarious moral state and rebellious religious tendencies which displeased God.¹ Yet over the same period, Anderson also began a series of teachings on the Gospel of John,² preached from a translation of Acts,³ and taught the miracles and parables of Christ.⁴ William Anderson preached the Law, but not without bringing in the work of Christ.

4.3.1.5 Preaching on Christian Living to the New Duke Town Converts after Publication of the New Testament, 1863-1867

After the publication of the New Testament in the end of 1862, we can see a marked shift in the thrust of Anderson's documented preaching away from social reform. Unfortunately the documentation of the actual content of Anderson's preaching becomes rather irregular, in both the U.P. mission magazine extracts and Marwick's excerpts. Full quotations of Anderson's sermons become more difficult to produce. We know that Anderson began to teach expository series on the miracles and parables of Christ through 1864,⁵ as well as some Old Testament

¹ Another example of the stress on the Ten Commandments from the end of this period is found in U.P.C.M.R., Vol.17, (1862:116), during 1861. A discourse was allotted to each commandment.

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.10, (1855:106), expounded through 1854.

³ Ibid., Vol.10, (1855:108) and Vol.12, (1857:146), the sermon being on Acts 26.22,23, for the 11th anniversary service.

⁴ Ibid., Vol.17, (1857:116), where a discourse was devoted to each miracle and parable.

⁵ Ibid., Vol.20, (1865:116), Anderson's report for 1864.

history.¹ Yet Anderson still found it necessary in April 1863 to call attention to the privilege of having the Gospel preached in Duke Town; his remarks were pointed particularly to those who had yet paid attention "to the one thing needful"--conversion.²

After ten years of uneven growth, with only 15 Efik converts by 1863, Anderson was understandably eager to promote conversion. But although he still needed to remind recalcitrant listeners of their need for salvation, Anderson saw even more clearly the need for closer instruction of those who had by that time begun to convert. During 1864, he attempted to establish patterns for Christian living among the Duke Town converts³--often supplementing his teaching with the Shorter Catechism.⁴ The need to realize their high privileges, and the call "to repent and turn to God, performing deeds appropriate to repentance", was apparently a key element of Anderson's

¹ Ibid., Vol.19, (1864:167), 13 March 1864, from 2 Samuel 12.16-23; also Vol.20, (1865:83), November 1864 from Ezekiel 37.1-14.

² Marwick, op.cit., 402, 5 April 1863.

³ Ibid., 83, 6 December 1864, "Daniel as a pattern to young men", for discipling the younger converts. Also, Anderson felt the need for careful, patient discipleship in the doctrine of Christ, as illustrated in a Hausa Muslim who wished to convert, 10 April 1864; In 1864, Duke Town reported 33 total members, including Europeans and Creoles, but only 17 Efik members. See Appendix II.

⁴ Ibid., Vol.20, (1865:116), during 1864. However, this was perhaps the ninth or tenth time the Shorter Catechism had been used, so this was a common pattern. What was new was its use in the context of discipling converts, for previously it could have only been used to bring the people to a saving knowledge of their sin, and the necessity of mediator Christ.

preaching from 1863 to 1867.¹ As we have seen with both Waddell and Goldie, the change in emphasis in Anderson's preaching away from social reform to Christian discipleship, was not due to some change in his theological presuppositions. It was rather prompted by his perceptions of the Duke Town church evolving from merely a group of inquirers into a small community of believers requiring broader biblical teaching.

There were now even people on the fringes of the church interested in what the mission had to say. Anderson was quite surprised to learn during this period that upon visiting homes, many people who did not attend church had nonetheless acquired a knowledge of several important scriptural truths from their children in school.² The attempt to secure converts was now being supported by the vernacular translation of the New Testament, the knowledge of which was spreading throughout the community quite apart from any preaching. Therefore the need for strong thematic sermons--those sermons not preached in a series, and often denouncing some social or religious behaviour--was superseded by teaching on the New Testament. Such teaching indeed pointed to sin, but also pointed all the more towards Christ as the propitiation for that sin. Hence from 1863, and certainly from 1868 when the Old Testament was published, we see fewer thematic sermons, and even more references in Anderson's work to broader biblical exposition. It is, interestingly enough, after 1868 that the first significant growth in Duke

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.1 new series, (1866-67:406), 14 April 1867, preaching from the text Acts 26.22ff. This was from Paul's preaching to Agrippa.

² Marwick, op.cit., 403.

Town occurs.¹

4.3.1.6 Anderson Shifts to a More Serial Exposition of the Books of the Bible, 1868-1880

From 1868, Anderson's thematic sermons tended to be on the remaining distasteful customs such as polygamy,² his pet topics of death, judgment, and eternity,³ or anniversary sermons.⁴ In 1869 Anderson began a full round of Old Testament and New Testament teaching centred around whole books of the bible, that continued until his retirement.⁵ Again, we see the distinctively United Presbyterian Church tendency towards strong and comprehensive biblical exposition. Of course interspersed within this exposition are periods such as 1870-1 where Anderson again pontificates strongly in his inimitable style about the need for social change:

...the drink which God provides--water--is good for body, soul, estate; and that the man made drink--rum--is ruinous to all three. Closed as usual with invitation to all to come to church to hear Gospel.⁶

Other emphases occurred in 1869 and after 1874, when Anderson taught on the Epistles--specifically geared towards

¹ See Appendix II.

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2, new series, (1868-69:154), 3 May 1868, from Matthew 28.

³ Ibid.; 19 April 1868.

⁴ Ibid., Vol.3, new series, (1870-71:235), 9 January 1870, "Choose ye this day whom you will serve". Anderson said, "I felt this favourite [text] as new and refreshing to my own mind, as it was the congregation, and appeared to Jamaican congregation in 1840."

⁵ See Anderson's yearly reports, from U.P.C.M.R., Vol.3, new series, (1870-71:181, 544) to Vol.3, 2nd new series, (1881:193).

⁶ Ibid., Vol.3, new series, (1870-71:356-7, 646), 24 August 1870; see also 24 February 1871.

Christian living within the Church. And like Waddell and Goldie before him, with the advance of years, from 1873 onwards Anderson again resumed the fight against local customs.¹ By 1878 Anderson's views on the sacredness of human life and his personal predilections--death and eternal life--had been effectively spread, as illustrated in the following profession of faith described by Anderson:

The chief of Henshaw Town renounced polygamy and idolatry, professing adhesion to the religion of the Bible--the only thing worth living for, being the only way we can obtain peace with God, and the only thing which will avail us in the hour of death and at the judgment seat.²

But despite some small victories, the church at Duke Town was growing quite slowly during the 1870s. So slowly in fact did the mission grow overall, the Foreign Mission Committee had called Anderson to account for an explanation.³ In 1874, he made the realistic assessment that Duke Town was indeed, not thoroughly evangelised:

The work of the Gospel is little more than begun but I think I can say that it is begun. A few hundreds have been brought, more or less, under the influence of the sacred word; but thousands more still remain unimpressed, uninterested, and uninstructed.⁴

The following year in 1875, Anderson made an interesting comment in defence of the spread of the Gospel in Duke Town, which

¹ Ibid., Vol.4, (1872-73:580), 15 March 1873, which consisted of a discourse cataloguing the things God was against, and the stopping of the Sabbath market. Also, see sermon extract on arguments presented to Archibong concerning the sacredness of human life, Ibid., Vol.7, new series, (1878-79:258-9).

² Ibid., Vol.7, new series, (1878-79:198).

³ Johnston (1988:27).

⁴ Marwick, op.cit., 524.

pointed to the reason for a lack of statistical growth:

There may be more Christians than church members in Duke Town, and those who were polygamous before they knew Christ and who see it their best duty to retain their wives, while not allowing church membership, these people are not consigned to the ruination of their soul.¹

Clearly, by this stage polygamy was not in Anderson's view sufficient to prevent those trusting in the grace of Christ from receiving its benefit.² Such a view may represent the foremost theological shift of Anderson's mission career.

4.3.1.7 Renewed Emphasis on Conversion, and the Conclusion to Anderson's Preaching Ministry in Calabar, 1880-1895

It is understandable, in light of the official concern for the mission's lack of growth in the 1870s, that the 1880s saw Anderson renewing his evangelistic preaching for conversion. Indeed, on 18 January 1880, Anderson preached on "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve" (Joshua 24.15), and Paul's preaching to Agrippa on 5 April 1880--both favourite conversion texts of Anderson's from long ago.³ So as we can see, it was not simply the relative lack of progress in the 1870s that caused Anderson to re-emphasize preaching for conversion in the 1880s. Presumably with age, one expatiates on the familiar--what lies closest to the heart.

It is important to note that Anderson's preaching remained very close throughout to the dogmatic evangelical preaching of

¹ Ibid., Vol.5, new series, (1874-75:460).

² Ibid., 649.

³ Ibid., Vol.1, 2nd new series, (1880:314); Marwick, op.cit., 570. For another occasion of Anderson preaching Acts 26, on 20 March 1881, see Marwick, op.cit., 577.

the pioneers and the Scottish evangelicals prior to 1855: humbling the sinner, presenting the atonement and acceptance of Christ, and moving on a pilgrimage of discipleship.¹ This was the way Anderson was also to finish his days at Duke Town, preaching on salvation from 1880 onwards, as this excerpt from 22 January 1882 demonstrates:

In the evening I told her [his sick wife] what I had been preaching on to the English congregation-Genesis 49.18: 'I have waited for thy salvation, Oh Lord.' I gave her my divisions...1. Salvation is wholly of God--'Thy'. 2. Salvation is a personal matter--"I". 3. Salvation requires exercise of faith and patience--"have waited". 4. Salvation is the only thing of value on the bed of death.²

It is unfortunate that more of Anderson's sermon skeletons do not exist. Twenty-five of his most important discourses he had arranged for use "at short notice", perished in a fire in 1882.³ We are not told which sermons were lost. Thereafter until his retirement as his eyes increasingly failed him, we have precious little remaining documentation of his teaching. There are few notes, because he could no longer read his sermon notes anyhow. As Anderson said in April 1888, "not the most stiff-laced Cameronian need be under any fear of my using MSS. in the

¹ Marwick, *op.cit.*, 521, speaks of Anderson's old story on the commandments, and the Lords' ascension from 8 February 1874. Likewise, in Marwick, *op.cit.*, 570, Anderson mentions 18 January 1880, in reference to choosing to serve God, "It is the same old, old story, I have found nothing new to preach during these forty years."

² Marwick, *op.cit.*, 587.

³ See Marwick, *op.cit.*, 513, and 519, especially the footnote on pg.519.

pulpit now."¹ In an almost melodramatic conclusion to his pulpit ministry in Duke Town, Anderson climbed into the pulpit on 30 September 1888, to preach from 1 Samuel 6.20, "Who is able to stand before the Lord?", and fainted to the ground before finishing. Soon thereafter Anderson retired and left for Scotland on 21 April 1889. However, preaching was in his blood, and Anderson was soon back for a short tour in November 1889, returning once more to die in his Calabar home on 28 December 1895.²

4.3.1.8 Anderson's use of Scripture

If we look at the sources for Anderson's preaching--mainly the U.P. mission magazine and Marwick's biography, supplemented by select surviving portions of his diary--we find approximately sixty-nine references documenting his theological content. What were the dominant books upon which Anderson based his

¹ Marwick, op.cit., 614-615; After Charles II was restored in the late seventeenth-century, he came to see the Covenants as a nuisance. He had the bishops reinstalled in Scotland, and they alone had the authority to appoint parish ministers. Some ministers and worshippers assented to this arrangement for the sake of peace. However, others rejected the churches and became the Covenanters, going into the hills to conduct secret worship services known as conventicles. Some of the extreme Covenanters came to be known as "Cameronians", after Richard Cameron, one of their leading preachers. Being forced to preach in the open throughout Scotland, Cameron and his colleagues dismissed with all rhetorical artifice in their preaching. Due to their precariousness, the preachers were direct, they came to the point quickly, and preached without manuscripts. Anderson was referring to their descendants, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, the majority of which merged with the Free Church in 1876. The later "Cameronians" agreed in some points with Cameron, while repudiating others. However, they would have equally frowned on reading sermons, as did the U.P. Church. See Blaikie (1888:173-177), Taylor (1887:130), Blair (1888:16); Woodside (n.d.:285).

² Christie, (MSS:1889, 1895); Marwick, op.cit., 652.

preaching? It must be remembered that especially after 1868 Anderson was involved in regular and serial exposition of the Bible; and so all biblical books appear to have been treated at least in a cursory manner. However, we can rank the books on the number of times one of its texts was treated thematically, or outside serial exposition of the book. This ranking gives us a glimpse of some of Anderson's favourite texts, and of the themes he felt were so necessary to be preached in Duke Town, as to bear repeating.¹ First in order of frequency was the Gospel of John, followed by that of Luke. After these, Anderson used texts from the books of Acts and Isaiah equally. Texts from Genesis and Matthew were preached with the same emphasis, only slightly less than Acts and Isaiah. Other favourite and useful texts for Anderson were found in Psalms and Joshua. For other books with texts which received some notice from Anderson, see Appendix III.

If we proceed to examine the number of times a book was taught by Anderson in series, we can get a truer ranking of the most emphasised biblical books in his ministry. From the records we have, Anderson taught the book of Genesis most thoroughly. There are six references to it being taught in series form. The next most often treated material, occurs in Acts, Numbers, and I Kings, with each book having been taught at least five times entirely. After these, an equal emphasis on John, II Kings, Hebrews, Exodus, Deuteronomy, II Samuel, II Chronicles, and Jesus' parables can be traced, each being taught four times at least. The use of the Gospel of Luke, the Epistles, and the

¹ See Appendix III for quantitative evidence, and list of actual texts used from various biblical books.

miracles of Jesus was equal to the number of times Old Testament history was taught comprising Leviticus, Judges, I Samuel, and I Chronicles. This material was taught in serial form at least three times during Anderson's ministry. Anderson used Romans less than the materials already mentioned; he evidently used it no more than he did Proverbs, Ruth, and Joshua. Matthew, Mark, Daniel, and Job were used less still, perhaps indicating Anderson only preached them as they appeared in the course in his systematic treatment of scripture after 1868.

Taking a view of both the number of times specific texts were taught from a book, and the number of times a book was taught comprehensively, Genesis and Acts received overall the highest treatment, followed closely by John and Luke. Isaiah, Psalms, Joshua, and Matthew--which scored high on the number of times specific texts from them were preached--scored much lower on the number of times they were taught completely. Taken on the whole then, these books were not disproportionately emphasised in Anderson's ministry. For a "Short summary of Christian Doctrine" which Anderson wrote in manuscript form as a compendium of his theology preached in Jamaica and Calabar, see Appendix IV.

4.3.2 Anderson's Duke Town Associates and Successors: Peebles and Wilkie

The dominance of Anderson's preaching and theology on Duke Town is clear; there are few if any references to sermons by associates within Duke Town proper during the forty plus years of Anderson's reign there. The vast preponderance of references to sermons by most of those who served under Anderson after

first arriving--Z. Baillie, S. Edgerly, jr., T. Campell, A. Ross, W. Peebles, R. Beedie, J.T. Dean, W. Marwick--come from preaching forays up-river and in the outlying farms of Duke Town. Thus it appears that no significant preaching contributions or developments from the younger generation were registered in Duke Town to rival Anderson's theological hegemony.

The one exception is that of William Peebles. He preached on the love of God, the value of the soul, and the way of salvation, in Adam Ironbar's farms just outside Duke Town on 22 March 1888.¹ Such theology is the only instance available of what Enright would call "transitional Scottish Evangelical preaching" characteristic of the period from 1855-1880, stressing love rather than the Law of God, and presenting salvation as a simple belief in Christ. Perhaps Anderson thought the intransigence of Duke Town required him continually to humble the idolatrous sinners before the Law. There is very little evidence of preaching in Duke Town on the Father's love in Jesus, nor any reference to the incarnation of Christ or to the Kingdom of God. However, in fairness to Anderson, he seems to have been more aware than Waddell or Goldie of the ministry of the Holy Spirit in pouring out on the country in "pentecostal measure and winning souls to life."² Nonetheless, preaching on the Holy Spirit remained largely marginal in Anderson's ministry. Duke Town then, appears to have heard only very late, anything much beyond a new moral law to obey.

Only with A.W. Wilkie's ascendancy in Duke Town from 1902-

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.5, 2nd new series, (1884:305).

² Marwick, op.cit., 540; This reference is circa 1880.

1918 do we begin to see the display of themes such as: following a loving God's "fashion", "Come Holy Spirit" as a song of praise, and the the message of God's peace and the Christian Hope, rather than preaching primarily on death and judgment.¹ Unfortunately, apart from these few references to Wilkie's preaching around Duke Town and other outlying areas, we have no references to any preaching after 1900. This lack of documentation, moreover, leaves it open only to speculation if the fully formed "liberal" evangelical preaching--embracing higher criticism of the scriptures, and preaching social and moral duty within the Kingdom of God--ever reached Duke Town in the period 1900-1930. We would suspect only very little of such preaching would have been represented in Duke Town. However, as we have seen, there are hints to suggest that a few elements of the more "liberal" evangelical sermon were presented in Creek Town, and perhaps more still further up the Cross-River. Even so, these suggestions are largely inconclusive in view of the limited sources at our disposal.

After 1900 the day of the theological dominance of the expatriate preacher was on the wane anyway, however. With the District Missionary Scheme in effect after 1901 under the Mission Council, and the ordination of William George as the first local pastor of the Duke Town congregation in 1900, Scottish missionaries were less in the pulpit, and more behind the administrative desk.² In the twentieth century the theological umbilical cord to Scotland was broken, and thereafter

¹ U.F.C.M.R, (1901:166), (1903:212), (1904:21), (1908:23).

² Christie (MSS:1900, 1901).

the preaching of the Gospel by local evangelists was birthed to new life.

4.4 Comparisons and Conclusions

Let us now conclude with a comparison of profiles for the three main theological teachers in nineteenth century Calabar: Waddell, Anderson, and Goldie. The books of the Bible which all three pioneers emphasised were John and Genesis. Waddell emphasised preaching from John more than the pioneers. Goldie and Anderson also both used it frequently; in Goldie's ministry John is used equally with the other Gospels (while the Gospel of John was ranked third in Anderson's preaching). Anderson used Genesis the most, Goldie taught most frequently on Matthew. Waddell's second most frequently cited book of the bible was Genesis.

What does this tell us? There were clearly differences in the locations--such as the favour conferred by King Eyo's attendance to the preaching of the Word in Creek Town, in comparison to the intransigence of Archibong I in Duke Town. However, all three men agreed by their choice of texts in the need to preach on the cosmic beginnings of the people of God in Genesis, as well as on the ministry of the Divine Word in relation to the birth of the Church, from John and Acts. The resistance to the biblical concept of sin, as well as an initial indifference to teaching on the ministry of Christ, prompted the mission to teach a long tutorial in humanity's corruptness before God. Therefore the stress on Old Testament History was most appropriate. By historically tracing Israel's fortunes, it

clearly maintained that "the way of the transgressor is hard" and ends in judgment. The need for adherence to the moral Law, was reinforced in Waddell and Goldie's strong use of Matthew--which presents the Gospel as a fulfilment of the Law--in a Creek Town environment which allowed the continuity of the two covenants to be explored more closely. Anderson's relatively slight use of Matthew signals that the recalcitrant Duke Town environment, as well perhaps as his personality, dictated a stronger emphasis on the failure of man before the Law from the historical parts of the Old Testament. Since Goldie found in Creek Town a progressive King more prepared for change and responsive to the bible, it is understandable that he would have preached somewhat less on Genesis than either Waddell or Anderson. But as if to confirm that it was necessary to stress the Law longer and more explicitly in Duke Town, most of Goldie's teaching on the Law actually occurred during stints at Duke Town (1847-48, 1850-51) and during up-river pioneer explorations.

An interesting parallel occurs between Anderson and Waddell. Both used Acts quite frequently, while Goldie's serial teaching on it--apart from some favourite texts--was no more than routine. Waddell's task in both Duke and Creek Town was to confront people for the first time with the Christian message. Due to the more hardened resistance and indifference in Duke Town as late as 1849, Anderson also found it necessary to preach on themes which could be understood on first contact. Both men perhaps saw the advantage of using material in Acts which contained various examples of apostolic

preaching and confrontation with non-believers of different cultural backgrounds. Goldie's work in Creek Town was characterized less by apostolic confrontation than with careful exposition. This may explain his slight use of Acts.

The parallel between Anderson's and Goldie's stress on the wider Old Testament History (less apparent in Waddell's work which focused heavily on Genesis), despite their being at different locations, was clearly born out of their later move towards comprehensive and serial exposition. Waddell, in the first days of pioneer preaching, had to concentrate on Old Testament essentials--such as origins of Creation and the people of Israel--found largely in Genesis. His use of a translation of Joseph's history is a case in point, aimed at inculcating trust in God despite all obstacles.¹ Again, we find that Anderson and Goldie made more use of the Epistles than does Waddell. This relates to the fact that Anderson and Goldie were predominantly nourishing churches throughout their ministries in both Duke and

¹ See Waddell MSS (8953:78-79) for description of how Waddell's translation, prepared with the help of "intelligent youths trained in the school and our family, were indifferently received because of Waddell's pronunciation. See Waddell (1863:520) for a list of the translations Waddell made and their chronological order, which included: a Catechism; Passages of Scripture Arranged; Histories of Joseph, Jonah, and Elijah; Old and New Testament History, John's Gospel; A First Spelling and Reading Book; Arithmetic and Geography; Prayers and Bible Lessons. Waddell had taught on the History of the Old Testament in 1851, before the history of Joseph was translated and taught in January 1852. Cf. U.P.C.M.R., Vol.7, (1852:169) and Waddell MSS (8953:78-79). This evidence argues strongly that particular biblical material was translated which had already been used satisfactorily in teaching. From this evidence, it would be difficult to support the view that Waddell and the Calabar mission merely designed and executed their preaching based upon what books had already been translated.

Creek Towns, while Waddell retired in 1858, before a strong church had emerged in Calabar. The fact that Waddell and Goldie preached more on the Psalms and Proverbs than Anderson did, may also have been because of the earlier response of Creek Town to the new agenda of social change, as well as to the preaching of the primary theological tenets of Law and Grace; this would have left Waddell and Goldie freer to explore such topics. Waddell and Goldie's use of Ecclesiastes, while not copious, was significantly more than Anderson's, and is probably explained by the same logic as their use of Psalms and Proverbs.

The parables of Jesus, stressed more by Anderson and Goldie than by Waddell, were a type of teaching aimed largely at discipleship rather than at matters pertaining to salvation. Again, Anderson and Goldie ministered to more converts, and for much longer than Waddell. Hence, more teaching would have been expected to encourage converts towards living the Christian life. Most curious is the lack of preaching on James--a very practical book. In fact, of the pioneers, Waddell appears to have preached from it the most, but even his documented sermons demonstrate a rather slight use of the book. Therefore its most obvious audience--the developing Calabar churches under Anderson and Goldie--appear to have received instruction on James only as the exposition reached it on the ordinary rounds.

Also curious, is the relatively low use of Romans. Waddell used it more frequently than Anderson and Goldie, despite the latter missionaries being primarily in charge of the theological formation of the two foremost congregations in the Cross River area. It may seem strange that churches would be built--and by

Scots Calvinists too--without a heavy appeal to Romans. For within that book are found important treatments about revelation to the "heathen". Additionally, Romans presents the great themes of justification and salvation by faith, which provide escape from the punishment of the Law. As we have discovered in the course of our study, the Efik perhaps maintained a preference for teaching on concrete moral behaviour or historical narratives. For this reason, perhaps, the missionaries steered away from much teaching on Romans, with its more doctrinal content. Since Waddell was the first to preach in Calabar, it may perhaps have taken the later perspective gained by Anderson and Goldie to see that stressing Romans more often than the regular round of exposition called for did not especially help their case. Anderson preached more on Hebrews and the miracles of Christ than Goldie or Waddell. This may indicate that themes within Hebrews--such as the power to withstand persecution and the temptation to return to the Old Covenant--along with teaching on the power of God to do miracles, were thought to be important topics upon which to expound in the more oppressive Duke Town environment.

We have detected that themes from the prophetic books are noticeably slight throughout the preaching of this triumvirate, apart from their appearance in the regular serial exposition. This may be explained by the simple fact that until the people had been fully exposed to the ministry of Christ, and possessed some allegiance to that Christ, there would have been little advantage in emphasizing material whose interpretations would depend in no small part on the Efik seeing themselves in some continuity with the people of Israel. Without a full understand-

ing of and assent to the mission of Jesus, the way the books foreshadow the coming of the messiah would also have been lost upon the Efik.

With respect to last things, apart from Anderson who spoke often of the day of judgment, the mission did not stress detailed and particular eschatological schemes. Perhaps this was part and parcel of United Presbyterian theology. More likely, however, it was probably because the people of Calabar did not share a view of linear time which progressed towards the distant future--but rather had their minds facing towards the immediate future and the past of their ancestors. The Efik need was for the community to be preserved in the present, with the assumption that such help would be found in their ancestral and communal past. Therefore, topics on judgment or deliverance at the end of time, as we have seen stressed in Anderson's preaching, were not warmly received. We shall explore in our next chapter more fully the theme of upon what grounds the representation of the Gospel was received, rejected, or reformulated, with respect particularly to the Efik religious world view.

Our study in this chapter has shown that certain elements of evangelical Scottish preaching--as Enright defined them at various periods of development--were present in the mission preaching at Calabar. The question of a one-to-one relationship between Scottish theological developments and the preaching of Waddell, Goldie, and Anderson remains difficult to document, and therefore unresolved. However, the influence of changing approaches in United Presbyterian theological education

and preaching on evangelism in Calabar begins to be apparent with the arrival of younger missionaries increasingly toward the end of the nineteenth-century. Many of these missionaries achieved a conscious break with the preaching style and content of Waddell, Goldie, and Anderson. But it is unclear whether these developments constituted the full emergence of a "liberal" evangelical sermon in Calabar, the kind of which developed in Scotland in the late nineteenth century. This style was less dogmatic on humanity's sin before God, and aimed more at calling attention to the ethical duties of the Christian in the light of the love of God, the incarnation of Christ, stressing the Fatherhood of God, and personal experience of God. We possess only a few scattered examples of missionary preaching in Calabar bearing any resemblance to elements within that "liberal" evangelical preaching tradition. We saw hints to suggest a few elements of a more "liberal" evangelical sermon were presented in some instances at Creek Town, and perhaps more still further up-river. The question concerning whether or not the more liberal sermon fully emerged in the Cross River area during the period of our study must remain inconclusive, in view of the sources we have at hand.

On the other hand, the power of the local context to shape content in cross-cultural preaching from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, should not be underestimated. The demise of expatriate preaching after 1900 was clearly related to the reorganization of the Mission Council in the field. What was even more decisive for changing the shape of preaching in the Cross River area, was when Efik, Ibibio, and Igbo people

began to interpret mission preaching content increasingly in terms of their local religious heritage. Having once interpreted the theology of the pioneer missionaries in view of their own past, the people of the Cross River basin were about to pioneer their own theology, and present the message of Christ to their brothers and sisters as a promise for the future.

Section III.

A Historical Examination of Efik Response to the Mission Preaching
of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland

Chapter 5

Receptance, Resistance, and Reformulation:
Efik Response to Waddell's Preaching at
Creek Town, 1846-1858

5.1 Introduction

In chapter three we examined some of the antecedents that helped to shape the theological content of mission preaching in Calabar. Later in chapter four, we traced how the various missionaries in Duke and Creek Town represented their biblical and theological material, noting particular developments over time and making appropriate comparisons. In this chapter, we shall attempt to gauge some of the observable effects of proclamation on the people hearing it in Creek Town. In chapter six, we shall look at how Hugh Goldie and William Anderson's preaching was interpreted in Creek Town and Duke Town respectively--as well as a host of other United Presbyterian missionaries.

In both this chapter and chapter six, we shall get at the problem of interpretation in two ways. First, we intend to look closely at specific incidents to determine how the mission's proclamation addressed itself to local Efik religious categories and society. These incidents consist of moments in which the Efik themselves articulated their response to the mission's proclamation, and their responses were noted in the historical record. Then, we shall seek to assess--as far as our sources will allow--how the theological content of the mission message was interpreted by Efik based on their world-view.

In order to realize the above stated aims, we will examine at which points mission proclamation "on the ground" was received as being in continuity with the Efik world-view, or resisted as in discontinuity with it. It will then be possible to make some general comments on why particular theological themes were

either resisted or received. Following on from this, we will be in a better position to determine how the Christian message began to be reformulated--or reinterpreted--in order to reconcile perceptions of discontinuity between the mission teaching and local Efik religion. By noting places of harmony and variance between the mission message and early Efik understandings of Christianity which emerge in the records, we can suggest the outlines of what a reformulated, contextualized Cross River Christianity may have looked like in its first stages of growth from 1846-1900.

Let us then proceed to examine how the cosmology of the Creek Town Efik governed their rejection, receptance and reformulation of the preaching of Hope Waddell.

5.2 Early Consideration and Reception of Select Aspects of Waddell's Teaching in Creek Town, 1846-1849

5.2.1 Reactions to Waddell's Teaching on the Ten Commandments, 1846

Hope Waddell's representation of the Christian message, as we discovered earlier in chapter one, emphasized from the very start that individuals were in sin before the commandments of a holy, benevolent Creator God. From an Efik perspective, by painting such a sharp portrait of the penalty of sin before proceeding to preach about the Gospel of Grace, Waddell would have appeared to stress the vindictive character of God more than the benevolence. We can see an example of this type of presentation and Efik response in the text of Waddell's first sermon, translated by King Eyo in a public meeting on the Sabbath, 26 July 1846. The sermon has already been treated in

full in chapter one. Here we will summarize the main points, concentrating on the responses registered by Eyo, and attempt to trace how the new symbols would have been interpreted and placed among the structures of Efik religious and cultural world-view.¹

After speaking of the great God who made all things in the beginning, Waddell read and briefly explained the ten commandments.² On the first three commandments, Eyo "was very

¹ In this chapter, as well as the following one, we have consulted the work of the Rev. J.K. Macgregor, Principal of the Hope Waddell Institute, to construct our picture of Efik world-view before and around the turn of the twentieth-century. Macgregor published *An Account of Some Calabar Beliefs* in the *Missionary Record of the United Free Church* (1913:595-596, 1914:28-29, 176-177, 223-224, 361-363, 414-415) in six parts, covering major aspects of Efik religion and world-view, including: the soul, the belief in the "bush soul", how souls are trapped, witchcraft, death and beyond, and ideas regarding God. We have every reason to believe that the picture Macgregor paints is both an accurate and representative description of Efik religion and cosmology from the time the mission arrived until the publishing date in 1913; for Macgregor states that, "As far as possible the thoughts of the people will be given in a form to which they would assent. I have made no statement that has not been submitted to people from several districts in the Eastern Province of Southern Nigeria." (1913:595). If Macgregor's descriptions were not accurate from the period the mission arrived in 1846, those who were old enough to remember an earlier and different Calabar religion would have criticized the report. Macgregor would have had to submit his report to mature Efik to obtain expert feedback on thier religious views, and Macgregor made no mention of receiving any feedback to suggest Efik religion was different when the mission arrived. Therefore, we have in Macgregor's account an extremely valuable portrait of Calabar religion, highly reflective of its characteristics from 1846 to 1914. The fact that we possess Macgregor's work, means that we do not have to read later twentieth-century ethnographic research on Efik religion back into into the nineteenth-century. Such a method would allow for no historical development in Efik religion over time. However, because Macgregor used oral sources and submitted his accounts to persons for proper feedback, any concern that Efik religion and cosmlology was substantially diffferent in 1914 than in 1846 has been eliminated.

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2, (1847:27ff.).

short, and seemed as if he had some difficulty what to say."¹ Waddell seemed almost surprised that the commandments--"You shall have no other gods before Me", "You shall not make for yourself idols...worship them or serve them", and "You shall not take the name of the Lord in vain"--would be difficult to reconcile with local religious understanding. Such concepts clearly were at some variance with Efik religious understanding which saw Abasi (the only deity) as aloof and distant (not hidden), while the family or clans of the people were united by their common allegiance to the local ndem--or supernatural powers.² Although Abasi had once provided for the Efik, in the form of being near to the earth and providing heat to cook meals, Abasi had also withdrawn higher into the sky upon man's complaint that the process was too slow; before going however, Abasi taught humanity the use of fire.³ So from the Efik point of view the benevolent nature of the God preached by the missionaries was not in great discontinuity with their own religion. Nonetheless differences existed which needed clarification. The reconciliation of these concepts of God was not too difficult to achieve. Consequently, some Efik were able to accept in certain measure the notion of a benevolent provider God. However, the view of God as immanent, as well as the injunctive manner in which the above mentioned commandments were presented--especially the first and second commandment--would have run counter to Efik religion.

It is understandable then, that difficulties would have

¹ Ibid.

² Simmons (1956:20).

³ U.F.C.M.R., (1914:414-415).

arisen for Eyo in knowing how to communicate these foreign ideas. The ndem clearly would have been the locus of Efik supernatural supplication and attention, with men feeling at every moment at the mercy and sport of these "minus gods"; thus, the "ju-ju" system as it was called, involving sacrifices such as placing water in dishes, and fowls on sticks as drink and food offerings, was intended to secure favour with the ndem.¹ Images of the ndem were apparently rare. However, by locating these spirits in sacred places such as rocks and river, and thereby revering these locations, the Efik would from Waddell's perspective have violated the intent of the first commandment, to have no other gods besides Yahweh. It is not clear whether Eyo or any one else would have seen--as Waddell did--the making of graven images, and the reverence of local ndem through ritual offerings of appeasement, in any way associated with the worship of "other gods".

With regard to the third commandment, taking the Lord's name in vain may well never have occurred to any of the Efik. Alternatively, it may have appeared merely as common sense. At any rate, the taking of God's name in vain would have been highly unlikely and improper; for in their own cosmology the Efik already viewed humanity's position before the capricious

¹ U.F.C.M.R., loc.cit.; Noah (1978:103-104) asserts that African religion is one of unqualified monotheism, Efik religion included. He maintains that the ndem as mediums are not gods, but objects of evocation used as aids to worship. Nevertheless, it was reported to Macgregor that the ndem, rather than Abasi was the focus (U.F.C.M.R., 1914:414). If Noah's terms are to be accepted, this means the focus in Efik religion was on the aids to worship rather than Abasi.

ndem as precarious.¹ Following on from this, the Efik would have been very keen to avoid any provocation of the aloof but perhaps still sensitive Abasi--who in their view already had withdrawn from the immanent realm merely over a complaint. Indeed, angering the gods was an occurrence most Efik would probably have assiduously avoided. For these reasons, perhaps, no extended commentary was felt to be necessary by Eyo.

On the fourth commandment "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy", Eyo clearly could place the concept of resting on the seventh day in continuity with the Calabar custom of resting on the eighth day of their week.² We therefore see in the record that he was full and at ease in his translation, as he found there were cultural categories among his hearers which could accommodate the communication and interpretation of this particular religious truth.³ The fifth commandment, "honour your father and mother, that your days may be prolonged in the land", would have been in close continuity with the Efik concept that the spirit of the ancestors, to whom there must be made appeal, can cause good or ill;⁴ although the commandment was directed at the necessity and benefits received from respecting living progenitors. It is conceivable that the Efik read into their interpretation of this commandment their own notion that curses and calamities flowed from the spirits of ancestors who were not appropriately honoured by funeral ceremonies or ikpo.⁵ Indeed, without proper ikpo, the soul or

¹ Ibid.

² Simmons (1956:20).

³ U.P.C.M.R., loc.cit.

⁴ U.F.C.M.R., (1914:28-29, 361-362).

⁵ Ibid., 28-29, 361-363.

ukpon of the ancestor was seen to be prevented from entering the Spirit land or Obio-Ekpo, where all Efik spirits go upon death;¹ there, the ukpon continues living in corresponding community and fashion with other Efik souls, before being redistributed and reincarnated as new individuals according to a vow made by the soul before death, and approved by Abasi.² Possessing these thematic structures in which to place the concept of "honouring father and mother", the Efik may have extended the prescription of the commandment into the land of deceased, just as the souls of the entire Efik people group exist on both sides of the divide between earth and Obio-Ekpo.³

The sixth commandment, "You shall not murder", was stressed heavily by Waddell "as it is ruthlessly violated in this land". Eyo clearly soft-pedalled the issue. The notion of murder so clear in the West, was based on an assumption that individual bodily identity was the locus of the soul. However, for the Efik, the soul does not belong to the individual but to the community, which transcends the land of the living and the Obio-Ekpo.⁴ The belief that a person's soul can be liberated from their earthly travail, make a better "vow" with Abasi for the next life, palliates the notion of death.⁵ Moreover, the fact that individuality is transitory, while the Efik community remains a finite stock of souls in solidarity belonging to each other, severed the logic of the mission's interpretation of judgment as a proper punishment for killing and violating the

¹ U.F.C.M.R., (1914:361-363).

² U.F.C.M.R., (1913:595-596).

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

dignity of the individual. Indeed, Macgregor's ethnographic work confirms that many people viewed death or tragedy as a working out of the vow made to Abasi in another life, or as a gateway to promotion to a better reincarnation--sanctioned by both Abasi and the community. Killing or death was not therefore to be prevented unnaturally by an individual, because the individual is contingent and subservient to the community.¹ The individual is contingent, because identity remains fixed only from the time one of the Efik community souls is reincarnated into the world and continues on through death into Obio-Ekpo. A person's individual identity ceases upon entry into the world, as another of the community's souls is newly incarnated.² Thus, individuality lasts one "circuit" through the land of the living and Obio-Ekpo, while various Efik souls continue their wandering. Seen in these terms, death is not to be feared, because it is not destruction; rather destruction as a being is to be cut off from the community because the proper ikpo ceremonies were not made--and this is its own worst eternal punishment.³

On a somewhat related point, it was common to hire an abioidong (or perhaps "abia idok") to trouble an neighbour's or enemy's soul through applying harmful ibok--or medicine; and this was implicitly sanctioned by Efik cosmology.⁴ The

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ U.F.C.M.R., (1913:595-596) (1914:361-363); there is possibility of a certain release into another tribe who also has its place in Obio-Ekpo and is subject to reincarnation. Here, a member of one tribe could, it was believed, place himself under protection of a friendly soul in another tribe in Obio-Ekpo and learn their language and customs and be reborn into the world.

⁴ Ibid., 176-177; Enang in Hackett (1987:26-27).

assumption was that every person could be affected through their counterpart animal or "bush soul", which if weakened, would thereby render the person vulnerable to sickness and death unless countered by their own use of defensive medicine. Also, in the Efik pre-Christian view of the cosmos--in which malevolent forces were often arrayed against humans--"witches" were believed to be able to affect the soul of a victim by assuming the form of some household item or animal; thus, they were believed to be capable of rendering great harm through sucking the blood of another person, usually members of the family or clan.¹ Furthermore, within Efik religious assumptions, Abasi had sanctioned the elements on earth to be used to kill or save people. If evil befell any individual, that was their own fault.² Only the poor and oppressed are likely to find special protection from Abasi; the remainder of the population will forever be at the mercy of other individuals and ndem powers who must be palliated.³ So within Efik religion there was an inevitable assumption that killing is a part of the natural order of things, and that one's enemy is often a close friend or family member.⁴

On the seventh commandment, Eyo "was strong and decided" in his interpretation of the prohibition against adultery. However, Waddell had explained the commandment in terms of "conjugal fidelity, without touching on the question of polygamy."⁵ This was done perhaps in hopes that with time, the intricacies of the issue could be appropriately addressed. This initial patience on

¹ Ibid., 223-224.

² Ibid., 414-415.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ U.P.C.M.R., op.cit., 28.

the issue counters Nair's assertion that "The Presbyterians... were clearly unwilling to await the economic and social changes that would eventually lead to the diminuation of polygamy."¹ By approaching the issue from the point of view of not taking any one else's wife--leaving aside for the moment how legitimate the Efik definition of the wife may have been according to missionary conceptions--it was possible for Eyo to respond:

That be very good. It too much bad practice in this country for man to take another man's wife. You should go to every town every day, and tell them all that word. That be [Eyamba's] fashion, but I don't have it here.²

Continuity between the biblical theme and the cultural ideal of not taking another man's wife was clear. However, Waddell at least came eventually to interpret this commandment as including a prohibition of polygamy.³ In light of the inability of Efik in

¹ Nair (1977:279).

² Ibid.

³ See Waddell (MSS 7740:29), 23 September 1849; Here Waddell reacts to the proposed marriage of a young girl to a man with many wives already: "This led me once more to speak on polygamy, and the evil thereby inflicted on all parties concerned." Eyo claimed it was in the interest of all parties, after which Waddell "urged on him to do what God liked and trust in him to take care of his own laws." Waddell clearly associated the prohibitions against polygamy with God's Law--or commandments. See also Waddell (MSS 7741:62), in which he argues with Capt. Turner, one of the traders on the river, about the biblical evidence for and against the practice of polygamy. Turner argued that "the practice in the Old Testament among patriarchs and prophets [was] not forbidden and not condemned, and it [was] seemingly allowed by the apostle in his injunction that the bishops (only the bishops) must be the husband of one wife. And while the practise must have existed in every place where the apostles preached they no where prohibited it." Waddell promptly responded that "the practice of the best men was no authority opposed to the practice and law of God." Although his defense may not have entirely answered Turner's arguments, Waddell again clearly associated monogamy with the Law of God--which could be in no way different than his interpretation of the seventh commandment.

most quarters to live up to their own avowed ideal, such teaching made for a longstanding point of difference between Waddell and King Eyo. Eyo did resist mission teaching against polygamy, causing Waddell in time to lose patience and distance himself from the King. However this quotation shows Nair's view that the King's resistance to the teaching of polygamy symbolised his rejection of the entire mission program and proclamation, is overstated.¹ It is untenable because Eyo affirmed monogamy as an cultural ideal. He and others didn't reject monogamous teaching broadly, they merely could not forego ingrained habits.² Nair's comments also do not take into account how Eyo and other Efik received elements of Christianity similar to local religion. The resistance to monogamy merely demonstrated the resiliency of Efik local religion, rather than the rejection of Christian teaching.

As Waddell embarked upon the eighth commandment, "You shall not steal", a howl of laughter went out that could not conceal the contempt that the people showed for such an ethic.³ As people of commerce, it is likely that the Efik accepted the need to adopt sharp business practices and broad definitions of stealing in order to engage in successful trade along the river.⁴ Beyond this explanation however, Efik religion also had built into its very fabric a sanction for stealing, which might well have caused the resistance to the commandment. For example, the Efik religious

¹ Nair (1977:280).

² Waddell (1863:383).

³ Waddell (1863:276).

⁴ Ibid.

practitioner, or Abioidong,¹ reportedly can steal the souls that reside in every object with the application of medicine "Idok", remove the soul from the object to his place of operation, and make the object appear in his possession while it ultimately vanishes from its old location.² Thus, stealing was raised to high art, if not a science, among the Efik and Ibibio.

In Waddell's autobiography, we discover that the ninth commandment--"You shall not bear false witness against your neighbour"--had a two-fold reception among the people. First, in a general sense the people admitted it was true; however, there was considerable discussion about the necessity for untruths and deceptions in carrying out trade.³ It is interesting to note that Waddell did not attempt a more pointed denunciation of lying as a "commercial sin." This episode does provide evidence though, that the resistance of the Efik to prohibitions against stealing in the eighth commandment could well have been motivated by commercial considerations.

Bearing false witness also had some relevance to the daily intercourse of Efik religion. On death of any free-person, accusations were offered against the one deemed responsible, often with the assumption being that sorcery was at work; very rarely was natural death the cause.⁴ Thus, it was not uncommon for recriminations and false-witness to be brought against neighbours in the esere-bean trial, with those escaping the

¹ Among the Ibibio Annang, the worker of Idok is called the Obuk Ibok, see Enang (1986:26).

² U.F.C.M.R., (1914:28-29).

³ Waddell (1863:276).

⁴ U.F.C.M.R., (1914:361).

venom of the bean being exonerated.¹ Again, accusations against those people purportedly using an abioidong's *ibok* against their neighbour's souls were decided by the administering of the *mbiam* oath, which by requiring the accused to eat a possibly fatal medicine, would supposedly point to the guilty party in a two-way confrontation.² Falsehood in accusations was assumed to exist, and was apparently in some measure encouraged.³ Despite the ostensible emphasis of the cosmology on the community, in practice the individual found himself in a hostile arena, where his protection had to be secured against malevolent individuals from within the closest segments of family or clan. Truth and deception were already a life and death matter in Calabar, and bearing false witness against the neighbour was prevalent. Yet it was understood as a necessary component of survival in a hostile, competitive material and spiritual world apparently sanctioned by the Creator. Biblical injunctions would be welcome by some, but would clearly cut against the grain of the cosmology and the internal workings of the society.

Lastly, Waddell claims that the importance of the tenth commandment's prohibition against coveting a neighbour's property was no more recognized in importance in Calabar than in his own society.⁴ As we have seen, in a supposedly communal society, Calabar had adopted some strongly materialist and individualist patterns of living through its longstanding trade connections with the West. Indeed, in a country where the

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., 176-177.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Waddell (1863:276).

number of slaves and household goods determined power, it was clearly going to be difficult to curb the covetousness between the gentlemen of Calabar.¹ Although it was not generally thought that prosperity and power came from Abasi, but from the use of his sanctioned ibok medicines, continual adversity was a sign of God's hate.² All of this evidence taken together clearly indicates that an Efik cultural bias towards materialism would certainly have rendered the tenth commandment largely at variance and irrelevant to the most central Efik concerns.

5.2.2 Early Responses and Interpretations Concerning Waddell's Preaching on Jesus Christ, 1846

Now let us examine how the theological material Waddell categorized and presented as "Gospel" may have been interpreted and responded to by that central "mouthpiece", King Eyo Nsa II. Waddell proceeded to preach:

...about Jesus Christ the Son of God; what he came into the world to do for us, and the miracles he wrought to prove he came from God. The account of these miracles took Eyo's attention very much; particularly the feeding of thousands by a basket of bread, the raising of Lazarus from the dead, and the resurrection of Christ Jesus himself. The general resurrection at last raised his astonishment to the highest pitch. 'All them old people that dead long time,' he cried, 'will they all live again? Them old bones that lie rotting on the ground, will they live again? How will God raise up the old bodies, or give them new bodies: Where will they all live? The world can't hold them!' When I stated that the Son of God would come again to judge the world he was fairly startled...I concluded with prayer. When I had done, King Eyo said, 'This be very good meeting. I like we have it every Sunday.'³

¹ Jones (1956:115).

² U.F.C.M.R., (1914:415).

³ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2, (1847:28).

Later on 2 August 1846, Waddell continued:

In every corner of your yards you heap up these things, which are only fit to be buried, and you think they can do you good, and keep away all harm. How can a skull help or save you? Can a dead man do more than a living man? Will the living cry to the dead to help them? I think dead men can do nothing. ...You kill a beast and eat it, and then take its bones to keep evil from your house. It could not help itself, how can it help you?...[The king does] not trust in them fool fool thing. Trust in the living God, who made you and keeps you every day, and can save you from all harm. He is both able and willing to save all who look to him and call on him, both in this life and for ever. He loved us and gave his Son for us, and Jesus Christ died and rose again and went to heaven, and ever lives to save all who trust in him. ...When he had interpreted...he remarked to me, 'I tell them something more out of my own head beside what you tell me to say...I tell them...how ju-ju man make them fool in plenty ways. I see ju-ju man, myself; he poor, no got nothing; he come say, I show you how for grow rich: make white man trust you with plenty goods, and he tell them to do so and so...[It doesn't work, the white men still is in control of the trading process] I want no ju-ju to make white man trust me. As long as I got plenty oil,, that is my ju-ju; that make white man glad for see me.'¹

The emphasis by Eyo had shifted to the foolishness of the ju-ju man. In fact, it is not clear in the record whether Eyo even translated the comments he made to Waddell concerning the foolishness of ju-ju. The fact that the religious practitioner was being marginalized *before* widespread conversion occurred, indicated the extent to which the culture had faced new structures of thought in secularization.² Clearly the role of the religious practitioners was weakening, rather than

¹ Ibid.

² Nair (1977:263).

the strength of local religious ideologies.¹ Due to these conditions of secularization, the preaching of the mission was probably easier to reconcile with local religion than it would have been without such pressures. Material well-being was the new ju-ju.

Waddell continued:

Next I spoke pointedly on the horrid wicked practice of killing slaves when the great men or women die, and assured them that God would bring these murders into judgment...I concluded my address by showing the grand remedy for all these dreadful evils, the grace of God in Christ, who came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, both in this life and the life to come. This was the object I had in view in all I spoke, and to which all tended.

When I had prayed, the king said, 'that they show respect to God in their own way too. When they eat, they give some to God. When they drink, they pour some out for God. When they kill Egbo goat, they sit long time and pray before they eat him. When I see chicken and egg on the pass that is what some people give to God.' 'Yes, king, very true, you show respect to God in this way, but that is not the right way that God wants you to worship and serve him. He tells us in his own word what we are to do. We must love him, and trust in him, and keep his commands. When you send men to work for you, you tell them what to do, and how to do it. If they take some different way of their own, you are not pleased.' To this he assented as quite true...after I left the place of meeting...he kept the people for about an hour explaining and enforcing what I had said. He declared his own belief of the truth of all I had stated. He believed that God, from the height of heaven, looked down and saw all that was done on earth, the same as he looked out of his upper windows over all the town. He believed that God would call all men to account hereafter, the same as he made his servants give an account when they returned from market, no matter how long they had been away, of all

¹ Walls (1987:258).

the goods he sent by them, and all they had done.¹

At this stage, Eyo was eager to show how continuity of religious content, if not form, existed between Efik patterns of belief and the missionary message.² From Eyo's perspective, the main thrust of the mission message was towards honouring God, and so Eyo was keen to demonstrate that Efik religion showed honour within its practice, but in different cultural forms. Of course, Waddell was not fully content with Eyo's argument; he therefore picked up and applied Paul's line of thought in Acts 17:30 to the situation, "As for the times of ignorance, God has overlooked them; but now he commands mankind, all men everywhere, to repent" (NEB). So while Eyo tried to show continuity, Waddell focused on the discontinuity in their religious practices, and the need for change.

After Waddell had departed, Eyo clearly explained points of the message in close continuity with his evolving understanding. These theological propositions represent points with which the Efik were most likely to give their assent: God's sovereignty and calling to account his creatures in the "hereafter". Sympathy for these concepts was no doubt enhanced by their analogies to the King surveying his Town from his upper window, and calling his servants to account for trading goods.

Eyo's response perhaps represented an enlightened set of beliefs born of his experiences and exposure as head of the free

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2, (1847:29).

² This is also the perspective of Noah (1978:105) who argues for the fundamental similarity between Efik (African) Religion and Christianity.

men in Creek Town. Yet this view must be offset by a caveat: there was perhaps in Eyo's interpretations some exaggeration of the compatibility between Efik local religion and mission proclamation, which was done to enhance his status and claim as king of all Calabar.¹ In any case, we can be fairly sure from the source we have examined above, that for Eyo at least, and perhaps some of the Creek Town leadership, significant portions of the mission proclamation as it had been presented thus far, was perceived to be similar to Efik beliefs.

Thus far on the whole, Eyo apparently had seen much in the content of the Christian message that was a restatement of his changing religious ideals and those of some of his people--in which practice did not always reflect theology with systematic integrity. To be sure, Eyo recognized that between Efik religion and mission teaching there were differences in form. Yet he was also apparently willing to allow for them--being puzzled why the mission did not fully share that flexibility. It was ironically Eyo, and not Waddell, who argued for the continuity in their respective religions. Waddell was at pains to emphasise the distinctions, rather than the common ground, between Efik religion and mission proclamation. However, on the points which Eyo apparently agreed with--that God was sovereign over his Creation and would call all men to account for their deeds--Waddell did apparently concede their continuity with Christian teaching by

¹ Nair (1977:244-246, 254), who asserts that the missionaries were regarded as a new source of power and leverage in the struggle for political authority in the region. To placate the missionaries with signs of similarity between Christianity and local religious practice could well have served these interests.

including Eyo's response in the record. Waddell may have regarded those thoughts as grounds for hope.

5.2.3 Preaching on Christ as Power over Ifot, and Local Response to the Christian Concept of Satan, 1846

The following Sunday, 9 August 1846, Waddell addressed Eyo and company on the blessings to be had in Jesus Christ particularly how the "Saviour came to destroy the works of the devil" in the form of witchcraft.¹ This sermon perhaps represented the point at which Eyo and his company began to sense that this mission message diverged from their tradition. Addressing the topic of salvation certainly began to reveal to Waddell how difficult communication of theology would be. Indeed, we can see in both Eyo's responses--as well as Waddell's comments on those responses--an emerging sense that world-view structures (particularly the categories within Efik world-view which governed how religious symbols should be related) would remain strongly determinative in the local interpretation of Christianity:

...it seemed vain to attempt to reason them out of their superstitious credulity. [ifot, witchcraft or "freemason in the belly"] As the danger exists only in the imagination, the best way seemed to be to fortify their imagination against it, by prescribing an infallible safeguard, and thereby counteract its influence. This I could do in all truth, by assuring them that whoever was enlightened by the word of God, and believed in the Son of God, as the Saviour of men, could never be hurt by 'freemason in the belly'...King Eyo looked at me with marks of surprise, and asked if it be so. 'Yes, king it be so...The Son of God, my Saviour keeps me from all that bad thing. He won't let the devil hurt me in that way. And he will keep you

¹ Ibid., 30.

too, if you believe in him, and pray to him, so that no man can have 'free-mason in the belly' for you.'...If all Calabar people were Christians, this bad custom would die out in this country, as it had done in England and Scotland, and other Christian countries where it was altogether done away; and so their country would begin to come up proper. 'But', said he, 'when we find man want to kill his master by freemason, we must make him chop nut.' For a moment I felt at a loss what to say...I could therefore just now only say to him that people should be proved guilty first before being punished--that if two out of twenty escaped by retching the poison nut, it arose from the state of their stomachs, not the state of their hearts...and that the only effectual remedy was by teaching every man in his country the word of God, and bringing them to pray to the Lord Jesus Christ, who only could destroy these wicked words, by turning men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the service of the living God.¹

From Eyo's reaction above, it is clear that the religious ideology of ifot served to maintain social prestige and power. Because of that perceived role, it was not likely to be changed soon; for survival of the free-men in their struggles against the slaves depended upon their ability to expose those who were resorting to ifot as a means to throw off their master's authority.² So there was clearly a perceived self-interest on the part of Eyo and other free-men to limit the amount of Christian teaching to slaves which could remove their fears of the esere-bean trial; otherwise the free-men would lose social

¹ Ibid.

² U.F.C.M.R., (1905:223-224); Simmons (1956:21-22) demonstrates how the esere bean poison ordeal was used to reveal and destroy witchcraft. See also Forde (1956:xii) and Jones (1956:150), in which Jones refers to how the poison ordeal rituals were symptomatic of tensions within the lineage houses, as well as between them.

control over the servile members of society.¹ This explains evidence which suggests preaching interpreters would only tell as much as was deemed proper for slaves to hear.²

The above quotation also serves to counter the common notion that slaves had a great incentive to accept Christianity as simply a method to throw off their oppressors. Indeed, from the comments above, elements of Efik religion--especially *ifot*--appeared to be as much on the side of the slaves as the free-men. The slaves may have been equally loath to give up their one access to power against their "oppressors"--*ifot*--on the chance that this new unfamiliar Gospel could provide them protection and equality with their masters. If they accepted Christianity, they might lose the one recourse to power they possessed in *ifot*. Slaves did eventually come to see in the Christian message a superior form of protection against both the spiritual and earthly powers, and many conversions did take place among the slaves.³ But we must be reminded by quotations like these, that the slaves too had to risk losing some form of power--as the Efik perceived it--to render allegiance to Christ. In any case, the above incident suggests that aspects of Christian preaching were beginning to be perceived by some Creek Town Efik as discontinuous with local patterns of belief.

Apart from these words, we must look to Waddell's comments in his autobiography to locate what he perceived to be points of

¹ Nair (1977:278).

² Ibid., 277, citing Marwick (1897:203).

³ See Okon (1988:52-53) for a rather negative view on how the servile groups imbibed the Christian teaching, and how such messages of freedom found their way to Akpabuyo through runaway slaves.

structural dissimilarity between Efik religion and his preaching. He offered the following explanation of the obstacles the Efik might have to the reception of the Gospel:

The idea of their having sinned against God was new and not received. They had no word for sin, only 'bad thing'. And to do a bad thing to God was in their minds the same as to do it to man, to inflict an injury on him. That they had never done. This want of a sense of sin lay in the way of our preaching the salvation of Christ Jesus...On one point they did understand. Christ came to destroy the works of the devil, and witchcraft is one of the works of the devil. Though they had no idea of the devil, in the scriptural sense, they stood in mortal terror of that secret supernatural power, or pretence of power.¹

We will take these points in turn, how sin and Satan were appropriated and thus interpreted in Efik world-view.

How far can we take Waddell's words at face-value? On the issue of how the people regarded sin, the notion of not having a word other than "bad thing", does not in itself mean that the Efik did not recognize the possibility of injuring their relationship with God. The word for "bad thing", injuring a person perhaps primarily in the physical sense, as Waddell recounts, obviously had not been applied to Abasi--for the Efik asserted they had not injured God. However, broken relationships with Abasi were recognized as possible due to breaches in social protocol, as seen in the religious myth of Abasi where he removed himself from the proximity of earth because of an unkind complaint from humanity.² This concept of "bad thing" could be applied to the breakdown of relationship with Abasi by the Efik. The mission had simply not taken into account that their

¹ Waddell (1863:291).

² U.F.C.M.R., (1905:414-415).

intended notion of sin--closer to the concept of breakdown in relationship with Abasi--could be confused by the Efik with physical injury. The lack of a word for "sin", or "bad thing that offends the honour and nature of Abasi", did not mean that the Efik were unfamiliar with breaking intimate relations with the supreme being due to their actions. It simply meant they had taken the symbol of "sin" offered to them by the mission (indicating a breach in social intimacy due to the offense of God's nature and will) and placed it into a different category within their world-view: that of causing physical injury to God. In other words, the concept of sin taught by the missionaries was associated with other aspects of their world-view--those giving rise to interpretations of the concept "sin" which the mission had not intended. In order to be fully understood, the missionaries needed to distinguish their intended meaning of "sin"--a relational injury with regard to God--from the more likely Efik notion of inflicting physical injury on God.

With regard to the notion of Satan, however, Waddell rightly identified that the Efik in general had no notion of the scriptural sense of the devil.¹ However, when he spoke of the devil as the locus of power for ifot, the people did not stand in mortal terror of that secret supernatural power, but quite probably located this Satan among the souls of the dead; indeed, as Waddell tells us, the English word "devil" was used in

¹ Although one of the first encounters Waddell had with a local man on one of the river trading ships indicated that this man did have a recognition of the scriptural Satan, but had probably picked it up from the trading captains in passing. See Waddell MSS (7739:33), 18 April 1846.

reference to the dead, presumably learned from seamen, who spoke of those who were dead as gone to the devil.¹ The seamen were presumably referring to a lord of the souls who had been judged by God as evil, but since the Efik did not believe in judgment in Obio-Ekpo, the harshest conceivable form of punishment was to be prevented from entering Obio-Ekpo by the omission of *ikpo*.² In that case, the souls of the dead would be forced to wander the earth wreaking havoc,³ and by the Efik rendering of *ikpo* into the English "making devil", it is clearly these souls of the dead that have been identified as the devil. By "making devil" through *ikpo*, those souls capable of affecting the living adversely--identified as the Devil--would have been prevented from their deeds. It is most likely then, that Satan was located among the souls of the dead and identified with them, rather than seen as an independent personal force.

As further proof, we can offer as evidence one of Waddell's lessons on good and bad angels, given on 27 September 1846.⁴ During the lesson, Eyo replied that they knew no such beings as angels--which meant they were hardly likely to identify the Satan of the Bible (a bad angel) with ndem they knew.⁵ Waddell himself positively maintained that the Efik located Satan among the souls of the dead, as the same *Missionary Record* account confirms: "Though the devil is so much used here, they understand

¹ Waddell (1863:291).

² U.F.C.M.R., (1905:361-363).

³ Ibid.

⁴ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2, (1847:55).

⁵ Ibid.

by it, not what we do, but rather ghost, or some such thing."¹ It is clear that bad angels came to be equated by many Efik with the dead.²

It is probable that Jesus, however, would have been located by the Efik among the ndem. For in the same 27 September lesson quoted above, Waddell inquired about the notion of two Gods in Calabar of which he had heard some talk: Abasyeyong and Abasyesong, or God above and God below.³ Eyo replied, "No, there be not two gods. Every man saby [know] there be only one God--the God in heaven."⁴ He went on to explain that some had flattered the king by calling him the king on earth; clearly the king was rejecting the notion of a Godhead, or some sort of Incarnation. Indeed, Waddell's queries were driving at uncovering the truth behind some talk he had heard of a trinity. Waddell had received information from some of their "inkes", or fables, of the one God Abasi, and a Son of God, as well as a third, or middle God, of whom they had heard little and knew nothing.⁵ Only a few admitted these traditions, and Eyo's definitive answer closed the door on the possibility of the Creek Town leaders harbouring some half forgotten Efik religious trinitarian structure. In light of these denials, it appears that the symbol of Christ, the son of God, may have

¹ Ibid; The reference to "ghost" is a rendering of the Efik "Ekpo", which is also denotative of the soul--or that part of the human which goes to Obio-Ekpo. Thus, the devil was certainly identified with the souls of the dead who have not had ikpo ceremonies done for them.

² Aye (1987:52).

³ Ibid.; Waddell (1863:291).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Waddell, loc.cit.

found an appropriate place among the echoes of a trinitarian structure within Calabar religion. But it is more likely that the Christ symbol initially found its place among the ndem.¹ The idea of one divinity among the Efik was dominant, while the idea of a trinity, perhaps present long ago, had now almost completely faded. At this early stage then, the notion of Christ would clearly have been most easily accommodated among the "minus gods"--the supernatural local powers.

A few weeks earlier, on 3 September 1846, Waddell had used the story of Job to correct "the prevailing error" in Calabar that evil to individuals was caused by Abasi. He showed through the story of Job that any apparent "evil" or hardship that came from God was directed towards humans as a chastisement.² He went to read Job to Henry Cobham, who was inconsolable with grief over the loss of son Henry; however, the only response he could get from him was, "God do me very bad to kill my Henry."³ Waddell nonetheless recognized that many Christians in Britain who knew and professed more of God than Henry, would have interpreted the death of a son in much the same terms. The excerpts of Waddell's diary in the *Missionary Record* give no indication that the teaching brought any consolation.

5.2.4 Reactions to Waddell's Conversation on Life after Death, 1846

The next day a conversation with Eyo ensued over "chop", or

¹ Noah also draws this implication by seeing a correlation between the Western view of the relation of the Father and Christ and an African view of the Supreme Being and the ndem. See Noah (1978:107, 111).

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2, (1847:41).

³ Ibid.

dinner. After bringing the discussion of business to a close, the topic turned to the future world, the state of departed souls, and the resurrection of the dead:

He commenced by saying, that he thinks there must be another world where people go when they die. After a few remarks from me...he spoke of dead men reappearing on earth after death in connexion with one of their superstitions called juju. He was at Old Town yesterday making a great juju for his projected expedition up the river...In reply, I told him that dead men would not appear again on earth till the day of judgment; and that juju was altogether a fool thing, not fit for wise men to talk about or practise. Now that the word of the living and true God had come to him, he should give up these old foolish fashions, and pray to God alone. Juju could not help one nor hurt another; God alone could save or destroy, and protection and direction should be sought from him alone. About the resurrection he was curious to know with what body the dead would come again; and if they would have any work to do, or any chop to eat; and did not seem to understand how they could live without food, and certainly did not seem to relish the idea of such a life. He affected surprise that God could live for ever without food. Mr. Young, however, comprehended that if God, angels, or men could live for ever without food, they had no need for, and need not care about it. Perhaps it was the idea that in the future world people would have nothing to eat, even though they wanted it, that perplexed Eyamba; for when the future state of mankind was better explained, the mist on his mind vanished. At first he was at a loss to comprehend the change that would take place on the living when the last day came, but made it out at last that they would, as he said, just die and live again in one minute without being buried. 'I wish that day was come,' said Mr. Young, 'that is the way I would like to die.' 'Ah, that will be a dreadful day,' I replied, 'to those who do not now love and serve God, and put their trust in his Son Jesus Christ. If you wish to be safe and happy that day, you must repent of your sins, believe the gospel, and give your heart to God.'¹

¹ Ibid., 41-42.

The responses given by these Efik leaders all cluster around the Efik view that Obio-Ekpo will correspond to the land of living, with the tribe continuing to function with the use of the same language, communal social structures, and bodily functions as enjoyed on earth.¹ Furthermore, the belief in the necessity of using "ju-ju" or spiritual means (often through the abioidong) to direct the dead (either in Obio-Ekpo or in this world) to bring favour, or protection from curse, was a strong component of the Efik view of the resurrection of the dead.² Thus, when Waddell spoke of resurrection without the souls of the dead appearing on the earth--only at the final judgment would they reappear--no teaching was given by the mission about protection from these dead souls. Clearly, this would have surprised those accustomed to receiving help and projecting harm by enlisting the hostile powers of the ancestors and the ndem through various ritual observances.

Finally, the interest in what body the souls would inhabit when they returned, was clearly born out of the Efik belief in the reincarnation of a finite number of Efik souls into many different bodies here on earth.³ "Which body?", is the question of people who expect to inhabit many bodies in cycles from life into Obio-Ekpo and back again. Waddell claimed the mist was removed from their minds when the future world in the afterlife was better explained. But when Eyamba first heard Waddell's teaching on "the future state of mankind", he probably read his own religious assumption into Waddell's proclamation: that life

¹ U.F.C.M.R., (1904:595-596).

² Ibid., 361-363.

³ U.F.C.M.R., (1904:595-596).

after death in Obio-Ekpo involved no judgment.¹ As the text above shows, Eyamba also found it difficult to conceive of a future where people would have nothing to eat; but Waddell himself argued that this was because Eyamba had difficulty entertaining the thought of any change in the future state. Again, this static view of the future and the afterlife was a product of Efik world-view, as we have seen earlier. Once Waddell clarified that the resurrection in the last day would involve a change for the better in both spiritual and physical terms, Mr. Young understandably maintained that he wished the last day to hasten forward. Here, Mr. Young was confronted by Waddell's reminder of judgment for the individual who has not sought protection under the name of Christ. Here then is another case of how Efik understanding of the mission proclamation was based squarely on its continuity with Efik religion.²

We can also see in this episode how the interpretation process early on involved a struggle on the part of the Efik to relate new symbols to their familiar religious patterns

¹ Ibid.

² Thus, it was Efik religious concepts that controlled interpretation of Christianity. This again disproves the assertion by Okafor that "...coupled with the desacralization of the ancestral sacredness...[and] the introduction of a radical linear concept of time, the hell-fire preaching which conveyed the feeling that the loved dead ones...are confined in an eternal conflagration...". See Okafor (1981:33). The quotation we have cited indicates furthermore, that the use of the descriptive term "hell-fire" preaching is overstated and theologically imprecise. While Waddell clearly explained that judgment would await those who rejected Christ, he was conspicuously vague about what the judgment would specifically entail; he certainly did not draw any explicit connections between judgment and "hell-fire".

making sense of the cosmos--all with their own unique set of theological associations. At this point, reception of mission teaching involved only the items that were entirely in continuity with primal structures. But we see that there were already hints that the sets of religious meanings and associations within the resilient structure of Efik religion were giving rise to potentially new meanings to the theology preached by the mission.

5.2.5 Eyo Responds to Old Testament History Lessons and Waddell's Teaching on Abraham, 1846

Returning again a few weeks later to 4 October 1846, we can discern that Waddell's attention was focused on laying before his listeners certain portions of Old Testament history. The biblical lessons of Abraham excited some response from Eyo, because he learned that the people of God still existed, and more particularly, that the practice of circumcision which the people of Calabar retained, had its origin with Abraham by command of God.¹ Moving on to the history of Moses, Waddell records:

I explained the sprinkling of blood on the door posts by their practice of throwing the blood of the Egbo goat on Egbo day on the posts and utensils of their palaver house. Their retaining this remnant of the old ordinance and also circumcision, led him to remark with a smile that he think they be God's people more than the white people who do not practise them. {I explained that these customs could not make them be God's people, yet they proved the truth of his word, and left them without excuse if they did not become his people, now that he had sent his word and servants to teach them.} Having explained that point, I remarked that certainly they must

¹ Ibid., 55; Aye (1987:52).

see that they were bound to be God's people, having these witnesses in themselves of the truth of what I told him. How these fashion have got into use among them they cannot tell. They do the same as their fathers did before them, without knowing why.¹

It is interesting to note that Waddell found it useful to explain biblical concepts by comparing them to Efik cultic practices. Moreover, Eyo's response was a remarkably perceptive and honest interpretation of the biblical facts presented in the missionary proclamation. Eyo's remarks were so cogent, in fact, that they clearly pushed Waddell. He could render only a marginally convincing reply as to why "white men" did not include these cultic forms in their religious patterns. Nonetheless, by bravely bringing the Old Testament into the early proclamation and risking just such an exchange, Waddell did offer points of continuity to his hearers with which they could readily identify.

5.2.6 Creek Town Views upon the Death of William Jameson, 1847

After the untimely death of William Jameson, Waddell felt compelled to "improve the Death of Mr. Jameson for the good of the people of Creek Town," soon after arriving back in Calabar from their health furlough in Fernando Po.² He commenced to preach on 8 August 1847, at Eyo's yard, "on subjects suitable to the loss the people of the town as well as myself have sustained":

¹ Ibid.; The comments in brackets are from Waddell's autobiography, Waddell (1863:291), and were not included in the original U.P.C.M.R. records. They could perhaps be later additions, or they might represent the omissions denoted in the earlier record simply by the words, "having explained that point".

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.3, (1848:24-25).

I spoke first of the account he would give of his labours in the gospel, and appealed to themselves as to his faithful diligence in the Lord's work here, 'Yes we all see that,' responded Eyo. Then I pressed on them the account they would have to give for themselves of the use they made of the word of God he had come to teach them. His being taken away, though a loss to us which we all felt deeply, was no loss or sorrow to him, as he was now happy with his God and his Saviour, in the company of all God's people who had ever lived. Eyo asked if they would know each other in God's country, and seemed not a little bit delighted at the idea of Mr. Jameson meeting his father there...He then suggested that missionaries might with advantage kill themselves to get the sooner to that better world; but at once acceded to the view I gave him of our duty as servant of God, to take care of our lives, wait at our post, and do our work till the Master send to call us home. For a man to kill himself, I told him, was as bad as to kill another. When I spoke of the ravages that sin and death had made in the world, he asked why God had made man bad, to love sin and suffer death. When I told him that the badness of man does not come from God, he replied, That they were used to say that God do every thing; if a man be blind, or lame, they say God made him so; if he have a bad heart, it be God make him so too. The cases I told him, were not alike. No man's heart was so bad but it knew that it should and could be better. But men liked to be bad even when they knew better. Every man, I said, had a double heart, almost like two hearts, one better, the other worse; one told him to be good, the other to do bad. He choose the bad and leave the good. God speaks in the one, the devil in the other. He no hear what God say, but he hear what the devil say. He be bad himself. To this explanation Eyo listened intently, and then exclaimed, 'That be very true. I find it myself, man have double heart, one pull him one way to do bad; the other pull him t'other way to do good.' 'Very well, King, that good feeling and knowledge you have, is what we call conscience. God put it in man to teach him, and by it God speaks to man. You must always do what your good conscience tell you to do; and God will teach your conscience more and more by his word. Don't mind what the devil says in your bad heart; he leads you astray.' ...After this I went on to speak of

Jesus the light and life of the world, by whom sin and death would be for ever destroyed. The audience, beginning to show impatience, I urged earnestly on them to give heed to the word I spoke to them from God, as it would noways help, but rather hurt them, if they shut their eyes to the danger of which I warned. 'Very true, very true,' said Eyo, and he told them so.¹

Eyo's responses again indicate that reception of Christian teaching coherent with Efik religion was happening as early as 1847. At the same time, points of discontinuity were also provoking queries from Eyo, as he tried to square the new teaching with the community's religion. The notion that Jameson and the Efik people would render account of their lives was entirely in line with the Efik understanding that in Obio-Ekpo people must render account of how they had fulfilled their life "vow" (*akansa*) made earlier with Abasi; indeed these pre-natal dictations were described by the Efik as the only direct intercourse a man's soul has with God.² To the assertion that Jameson would be happy with God in eternity, Eyo's understanding of what true happiness in heaven consisted of, was predicated on the notion that people would recognize not only those with whom they lived presently, but the ancestors as well. Clearly, the view that Obio-Ekpo was the place where all the souls of the Efik community resided in much the same fashion on earth, was at the heart of Eyo's joy at hearing of similarities between the Christian conception of heaven and Obio-Ekpo.³

However, Eyo drew a conclusion based on these premises to which Waddell could not assent: namely, if one stands before

¹ Ibid.

² U.F.C.M.R., (1913:595-596); Simmons (1956:20).

³ Ibid.; U.F.C.M.R., (1914:28-29).

God, and all the ancestors, living in harmony with them eternally, should not one prefer that state to this shadowy world of pain? Based on a type of intersection between Efik and Christian belief about the after life--combining a lack of fear about judgment with a view of eternal unity among God and community--it was entirely sensible for Eyo to have seen expediency in suicide; indeed, as it was many slaves opted for such a way out of their present oppression in hopes of securing a better vow and life before Abasi in a reincarnated state. But the discontinuity between the two systems became apparent to Eyo when a prohibition against suicide was pronounced. Eyo apparently conceded to Waddell's argument--which appealed to the servant's duty to God to stay at his or her post--perhaps because Eyo also demanded this type of loyalty and duty from his servants. Indeed, Waddell argued that kings do not want the tradesmen they employ at distant markets to hurry home without completing assignments--simply to enjoy themselves.¹

In one final sequence concerning the conscience, Waddell used one aspect of continuity to which Eyo could certainly assent--the presence of the dual nature of man's heart--in order to overcome another point of discontinuity: the Efik view that a sovereign God was responsible for every misfortune whether physical or spiritual. Waddell's argument rested on distinguishing between how God physically created all beings--even the deformed--but placed the responsibility for spiritual deviancy on the human capacity to listen to the devil, as well as what God dictates. This drove a wedge into the Efik cosmology.

¹ Aye (1987:57); Waddell (1863:345).

This admitted that moral choice was fundamental to how people live in community (*akansa* or *vow*);¹ yet in practice, as we saw with Eyo in the quotation, and earlier when Mr. Young's son died, the Efik tended to blame evil acts and outcome ultimately on Abasi. At the empirical and experiential level then, Eyo felt the force of the "two heart" metaphor, which opened up the possibility of releasing God from causing evil choices among people. In this empirical way, Eyo admitted in almost Pauline theological terms that human choice is vulnerable to evil as well as good outcomes, and thus secured a basis for setting straight inconsistency in the old cosmology. While this empirical treatment of who was responsible for evil clearly held the attention of the Efik, the theological remedy offered in Jesus Christ did not readily engage them, as the quotation demonstrates.

Lastly, Waddell made an interesting comment that hearing the Gospel and not acting on it, would not bring blessing, but more peril to the Efik; their new found knowledge of the danger of their souls before judgment left them now without excuse. Eyo appeared to agree to this, though the notion of judgment had hitherto played little or no part in Efik religion. At this point discontinuities between new symbols--such as sin in relation to the special revelation of God, judgment, and prohibitions against suicide--had not yet been fully reconciled to the old local religious structures. Indeed, the Efik had merely begun to question the mission to understand the various distinctions in their message, while receiving only those religious elements similar to local tradition.

¹ U.F.C.M.R., (1913:595-596).

5.2.7 Outstanding Questions Preventing Conversion: Efik Interpretations of Christian Identity and Service, 1847

Soon afterwards, on 15 August 1847, Waddell uncovered one of the emerging unresolved questions of interpretation among the Efik. It revolved primarily around the question of who was a Christian, and what being a Christian entailed. After receiving some practical illustrations were given on how God takes care of his servants, for which Eyo showed great appreciation, Eyo proceeded to query Waddell:

'But who be the servants of God?' he asked.
'Not the missionaries only, King, but everyman, black or white, rich or poor, English or Calabar, who knows God, loves him, trust in him, and obeys him.' 'That be thing,' he replied brightly, 'that I want to know long time. You never tell me that before.' 'Well, King, perhaps not in the same words. You cannot hear all things at once...God's servants are known same as you know who be your servants.'¹

It was certainly true that the mission could only provide a serial representation of the Gospel over time, rather than a exhaustive presentation of it all at once. Having said that however, Eyo's critique that the people of Calabar had been left with the idea that the status of "servant of God" was reserved only for those living the "missionary" life, was well founded. The eligibility for both "English and Calabar", white or black, to accept the Gospel had been obscured perhaps by the strong mission objections to Calabar culture in the light of their interpretation of God's law. As a result, the Efik conceivably had come away with the notion that God was angry with the "darkness and primitiveness" of Calabar culture, rather

¹ Ibid., 25.

than with the sin of people in Calabar. The Efik had therefore perceived--on basis of the "hidden message" sent by the missionary stress on Law--that eligibility for accepting the Gospel and becoming servants of God was not open to the Efik, unless they also adopted the whole missionary lifestyle. Of course the Efik, due to their trading contacts, had for decades adopted aspects of Western culture--but only carefully selected ones.¹

The upshot of all these interpretations was to encourage the view that somehow one could not be a servant of God and make God at home among Efik culture. The Efik could take this view because the mission preaching emphasis had been upon sin as varied cultural expressions rather than upon sin as a breach in relationship between humans in community with God. This incident perhaps signalled the beginning of the realization for Eyo and his people that the message of the Gospel could be received in a way that would allow them to remain essentially themselves, distinct culturally from the mission lifestyle. King Eyo and his associates were probably for the first time beginning to conceive that the mission message could be received by the Efik people, while still retaining outlines of their own culture. Furthermore, they perhaps could now see that this message would help them overcome evil in their hearts, and then, ultimately, overcome the evil they perceived in their society. A small ideological opening was thus produced, pointing towards a reformulation of the Gospel away from the missionary way of life, towards the possibility of discovering ways in which to become a Christian

¹ Forde (1956:vii-viii).

while remaining Efik.

5.3 Reception and Reformulation of Christian Teaching among Local Patterns of Efik Religious Belief, 1847-1848

Although no baptisms were registered in Calabar until 1853, as we have seen, parts of the mission message were very early being received and placed among existing religious views. The following examples show how reception of the message was going on in 1848--highlighting how the Efik were in fact placing and reconciling Christian teaching within their own resilient religious beliefs. This process of placing new theological concepts among Efik religious views contributed to the gradual development of an ideological foundation which could ultimately sustain conversion. The following examples, then, will seek to demonstrate how Efik religious beliefs were being turned, penetrated, and prepared for those conversions. Lastly, we can also follow the Efik as they began to reformulate the gospel, by recasting new Christian symbols into interpretations more continuous with their religious understanding of the world.

5.3.1 Waddell Preaches Again Upon a Previously Resisted Theme: Resurrection, 1847

On 22 August 1847, we can discern an attempt by Waddell to use illustrations familiar to the Efik, in order to impress upon Eyo certain aspects of the doctrine of Resurrection which had hitherto been at odds with his people's religious understanding. Here is an example of Christian teaching being resisted at first, because the Efik did not have any similar theological categories in which to interpret the new Christian symbols. However, when Waddell related the teaching to more

practical subjects, Eyo admitted the force of Waddell's teaching.

He now possessed ready categories to interpret the new message:

My subject to-day was the conversion of Cornelius, Acts 10, owing to the king's remark last Sabbath, that he prayed to God every moment. I reminded him of his words, and observed to him that God had sent to him a teacher, as he did to Cornelius, who prayed to God always to instruct him in the way of salvation, as he would do to every man in every part of the world who sought to know and serve him. I wished him to understand that his prayers were not sufficient to bring him to God, that he must know the Saviour Jesus. The subject on which Peter discoursed was, therefore, my chief subject. The life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, though often preached before, were therefore preached this time again; though Eyo sometimes tells me, I heard that before, intimating his wish to hear something new. He seemed to obtain to-day a clear idea of the reason of his death and resurrection than he had before. He sometimes expressed his surprise that God should allow the devil and bad man to put Jesus to death; but seeing now how, by his resurrection, he triumphed over every thing, he seemed reconciled to the fact. 'But all men no saby,' he remarked, 'how God can make all men come alive again from the ground.' King, please to ask them if they saby how God make all them little children come alive out of their mother's bowels. He stared for a moment and clapped his hands and laughed, and, when he reported my answer to the company, laughed again, and they all laughed with him...Eyo seemed delighted, and cried out, 'It be true, God can make man come alive again from ground same as all children from woman's belly. It be all same. Every man believe now.'...I went on to say...when you see that God make big tree come out of ground, and yam grow in the ground, how you no saby that God can make man come up again from the ground" where do all the people come from that fill the world now? They come from one man, and God made that man from the dust of the earth.' King Eyo laughed again with great satisfaction, and replied, 'It be all true. God can do all things; we saby nothing.' 'You know, King, and all men know, that God can do everything pass men far.' 'Yes,' he answered, 'all men know that God pass men far.' 'Very well, king, some men

can do things which might seem as wonderful as the raising of the dead....When you were a boy, would you have believed, if any one had told you, that you would see ships come from far countries without sails or oars, only by fire and water?' 'Yes, I tell them that very thing many times,' he answered, 'and I tell them about powder. I say, suppose man from back country see that handful of black powder, and you tell him it can throw that iron ball so fast he can't see it, so far it take him long time to run and get it, he no will believe you, but it be so. I tell them plenty things, all same to make them believe. Same as you be missionary for white man, I be missionary for black men. I talk to them all time.' When I had done he said, 'That be kind of palaver we like; it pass all palaver. They saby [understand] all you say to-day.' I remembered the simplicity and familiarity of our Lord's parables and illustrations, and saw the supreme wisdom and beauty of them.¹

From the beginning, Waddell also used the story of Cornelius to press Eyo by showing that if anyone's prayers were serious--no matter who or where that individual may be--then God would bring the message of truth. Since the week before Eyo had claimed that he prayed all the time, Waddell argued that his mission to Calabar was similar to Peter bringing the message of the Gospel to Cornelius. Therefore, it was incumbent upon Eyo to give ear as Cornelius did, to the same message as Peter offered: the life, death, and resurrection of Christ. Eyo, however, tried to avoid the implications of this message, claiming to desire to hear something new. The first continuity that had been established--praying to the provider God--was thus shown to be preliminary in establishing contact with the benevolent Creator God. Yet Waddell demonstrated in this teaching that prayer would prove inadequate for uniting humans with God unless the

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.3, (1848:70).

full revelation of Jesus had been appropriated.

A new point of discontinuity between the mission message and the primal religion was soon raised: Why would God allow the devil and evil humans to put his perfect Son to death? The death of a divine Christ was a stumbling block for the Efik, because of their strong sense of God's sovereignty over any other spiritual beings such as the devil, and their view of the powerlessness of people before God's representatives.¹ Could anyone from Efik society with its religious structure based so strongly on power among both supernatural forces and humanity, possibly believe in the weakness of this Jesus? Could he be a God at all?

It was significant that within his sermon on 22 August, Waddell appears carefully to have stressed the resurrection. By emphasising Jesus' triumph over death as a victory over every force--both in the land of the living and the dead--Waddell clearly commended Jesus as a powerful, rather than weak God. Thus Eyo, as the representative of the Efik religious view, appeared to gain a new appreciation for the meaning and significance of the suffering and victory of Christ. Such an appreciation was based on the fact that the new symbol, "Christ", was represented in terms of power and triumph of will for the good of the community--terms vital to the structure of Efik religious thought. At a very fundamental level the meaning and significance of the symbol of Christ's life had been turned in a small degree towards more continuity with Efik religious beliefs. In so doing, those Efik beliefs were affirmed through

¹ U.F.C.M.R., (1914:414-415).

the manner in which Waddell portrayed the Christ. Thus, a type of reformulation occurred which reconciled a perceived discontinuity between Christian symbols and the prevailing patterns of Efik religious belief.

Another longstanding misunderstanding or discontinuity needed to be cleared up. Eyo posed the question: How can God resurrect human bodies? The larger question was, now that the resurrection of Christ could be seen as possible and desirable in terms that Efik religion could appreciate, how does that resurrection power come to be applied to individuals? There was no provision for such a linkage in their traditional religion. The only "resurrection" power conferred upon the individual soul by Abasi came in the form of reincarnation--where the soul enters a new body,¹ in contrast to the scriptural idea that souls will be renewed with bodies as well. Here is another example where an appeal to a practical example helped the missionary proclamation get around a missing concept in Efik religion. Waddell demonstrated that since Calabar men knew God created living bodies once in birth, why could he not recreate them again? The force of this common-sense approach was not lost upon Eyo, and it may have suggested an inconsistency in the Efik world-view. Waddell also pitched his argument to the notion that God's power to create could be applied to another area outside Efik religion --in the ability to "re-create." Waddell's approach here also appears to have been rather effective.

But Waddell, characteristically, could not stop there. He argued further by analogy that if even men can perform remarkable

¹ U.F.C.M.R., (1913:595-596).

technological "miracles", how much more could God do so. This concealed an important assumption; that "white men" who follow God, do miracles of technology and are consequently superior; and that if the Efik people were to follow the Christian teaching about God, they would also possess technological "miracles". This was exactly the kind of missionary preaching Eyo wanted to hear, because his motives for having the mission there certainly included improving Calabar trading and industry through increased literacy and assistance.¹ Therefore his final warm response can be seen in terms of how Eyo was also trying to increase his country's prosperity. Waddell's teaching provided a type of reinforcement to Eyo's agenda. He therefore saw himself as Waddell's counterpart--the black missionary--because he interpreted mission work as not only promoting new sets of ideology, but also as promoting new types of skills and technology.

In Eyo's view then, it would perhaps be expedient to surrender to some of the mission ideology in order to obtain training and technical assistance, while making the minimum of necessary changes. If read in these terms, not only was this sermon a representative of the best "palaver" because every one understood it, but perhaps more so because the topic had been wrenched away by Eyo's queries from ideology to the topic of industry. The illustrations had the effect of grounding the discussion among more mundane issues than Waddell probably

¹ Forde (1956:viii). The value of written records for commercial purposes was quickly learned by leading Efik traders.

intended. He certainly travelled some distance in the discussion --from prayer and Peter's sermon to Cornelius, to resurrection, and finally to technology.

5.3.2 Waddell Attempts to Counter "Erroneous Views of the People", 1847

Waddell often made rather aggressive attempts to meet "erroneous views of the people". In one instance, this approach had the effect of confirming the Efik religious perspective. On 19 September 1847, Waddell taught the story of Job to counter the Efik custom of making accusations concerning the use of malignant force whenever someone suddenly took ill or perished.¹ Waddell maintained, with both biblical and rationalist legal arguments, that submission to the esere-bean trial was not effective, since God was the first cause of all events, and in view of Job's refusal to make accusations:

Job did not employ such means [witch-accusations] to discover the cause of his sufferings. He acknowledged God as the first great and righteous cause of them all. King Eyo spoke of various methods that they had for finding out the authors of evil influences, and mentioned the throwing of boiling oil upon the hands of a person accused. Some water may be poured on at the same time; but the operator, as he described it, may pour more or less as he pleases, and thereby has the judgment in his own power. He ridiculed the trick; and said that he had plenty 'freemason palaver; all times, too much trouble with it.' It is a bottomless gulf, King; you will never get at the truth of such stories, nor get at the truth of any thing by such means.' I stated the divine law of justice, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word should be established; and also that it is better for the guilty to escape than for the innocent to

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.3, (1848:71-72); U.F.C.M.R., (1914:223-224, 361-363).

suffer. The first he acknowledged, to the second he demurred, asking how that should be. 'Because if you cannot one day get full proof against a man that do bad, and let him go, you may get the full proof another day, and take him up again; and though he should escape punishment for one crime, he will be caught for another, and suffer after all. But if an innocent man be punished by mistake, who can take it off him again?' He was satisfied, and replied, 'It be true.'¹

The lesson may have been perceived by Eyo as being in direct conflict with earlier statements Waddell had made concerning God's responsibility for causing evil. On 8 August 1847, he had asserted that God could not be responsible for the evil that befalls people because of their sinful choices. Waddell did not make clear to Eyo how Job's situation differed--for clearly Job's suffering was not a function of his choices. Waddell made two points when he might have been content with one: that Job did not concern himself with "divining" who was responsible for the evil, but simply trusted in the sovereignty of God. However, Waddell also left a strong impression that God does cause every good and evil event. At the same time he apparently did not emphasise that the story demonstrates how God merely allowed Satan to bring affliction into the world, in order to show God's greater glory when good men triumph through faith. The primary concept communicated from Waddell's treatment of the text would have been God's complicity in the matter of suffering. This is something which the Efik had implicitly believed in their religion, though without the conception of Satan; the difference being that in practice it was found necessary to expose the

¹ Ibid.

human agents--whether living persons or ancestors.¹ The vision of God attained at the end of the story pacified Job, and no doubt appealed to leading Efik men.²

5.3.3 Efik Interpretation of the Kingdom of God and the Calabar Kingship Model, 1848

Waddell's preaching on the Kingdom of God, 26 March 1848, affords a good example of how new Christian symbols introduced were understood in terms of appropriate analogies within Efik religion. In this case there was no ready equivalent from Waddell's point of view to describe the specific spiritual aspects of the Kingdom of God in Mark 1.15. So Eyo made a number of queries with the object of placing the concept within the Efik notion of social hierarchy:

My subject of discourse to-day was Mark 1.15. 'The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye, and believe the Gospel' I read some of the early prophecies concerning the setting up of God's kingdom, and their fulfilment in the Christ. Described the nature of the kingdom, as righteousness, peace, and happiness, in the hearts and lives of men and the progress of it gradually from small beginnings to universal dominion; and insisted particularly that it must begin in the hearts of men by the belief of the gospel, and spread from heart to heart by the power of divine truth convincing men, and bringing them to repentance. There being nothing in Calabar corresponding to kingdom, especially in the spiritual sense, I could hardly make it very intelligible; but found ways to convey the principle ideas. The objection was started by King Eyo: If Jesus Christ was the son of god, and came to be king of the world, as was foretold, how did he appear and live as a poor man, and not as a great king that all men could see and know him? Among other things, in answer, I

¹ U.F.C.M.R., (1914:414-415).

² Aye (1987:51).

pointed particularly to this, that knowing men's hearts, and wishing to be king in their hearts, he took the means which in his wisdom he knew to be best for getting hold of the hearts of men. And the word of God being the great instrument and means of his government, he wished that word to be known and believed in its truth by men, and not merely professed by the mouth. 'Now, king, when Jesus came a poor man, and preached the word of God, no man would say he believe it, and will hold by it unless it be really true; for a poor man, you know, cannot make his words regarded if they be not true, and hardly even then. But when a king speaks, everyman say Yes, yes, It be so, it be so, before they know whether it be true or not, and run to do every thing he say whether it be bad or good. And if Jesus had come as a great king, past all kings, all men would have given him their mouth at once, without waiting to look into the truth of what he said, or even caring in their hearts whether it was true or false. He would have had all men saying, Yes, yes, to every word, and perhaps no one understanding or believing it. That is the fashion of the world, king you know very well; but the Lord Jesus would not have it...' During this exposition, Eyo was very attentive, and began to smile as he apprehended my meaning, and, when I had concluded, exclaimed, 'True; it be true!...That be Calabar fashion. If a king have plenty money, whatever he speak, every man will answer, It must be so, and run to do whatever he tell them, if it be to kill man, or any thing else. But suppose he lose his money, and come poor, any thing he say be all same as lies; no man mind him. Jesus take best plan to prove all he say be true.'¹

The main point at issue was that all great kings or chiefs in Efik regions were men of great wealth, power, and prestige with respect to their immediate subjects.² So the notion of kingdom, if presented as an analogy with Calabar kingship, was

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:27).

² Waddell (1863:312-314) and Forde (1956:vii-viii).

bound to form a point of discontinuity.¹ This was the reason behind Eyo's surprise that Jesus could be king and still be essentially a poor man. However, it appears that Waddell's keen ability to argue from common-sense, making use of selected parts of the analogous earthly kingship concept, was sufficient to convince Eyo that Jesus' human identity contributed to prove the truth of his teaching. Yet the discontinuity between the biblical concept of a kingdom directed towards service and the Calabar concept of power and wealth were not fully reconciled here.

5.4 From Selective Receptance to Selective Resistance, 1849-1851

5.4.1 Waddell's Appeals to Convert are Resisted, While Calls for Social Change are Received, 1849

On 2 September 1849, Waddell had grown somewhat disenchanted with the Efik response. Evidently the points of continuity had been taken on board by the Efik. Now every sermon seemed to bring out a discontinuity and objection from Eyo, indicating why it would be a long time before they could reconcile allegiances to their culture and these new religious symbols. Eyo offers an impressive historical critique of Waddell's impatience:

I discoursed on the parable of the fig tree, and the danger of wearing out God's patience by continued unfruitfulness. Three years the Lord had been planting this farm for himself at Calabar,--What fruit had it yet produced" Who had repented, believed, and

¹ The notion of Calabar kingship has developed over time from sacral (Aye 1987:38) to secular (Nair 1977:245) in origin. By the time the mission arrived, Nair concludes that the source of authority was trading power, not theological. See Nair, op.cit., 245.

begun to serve God with all his heart? The King, in reply, said, that it take long time for seed to grow, but he thinks it begin to grow a little here already, and he referred to some improvements already effected. In England, he added, God's word had been preached and read for above a thousand years, and all men do not believe and obey it there yet, and he hoped that God would be patient with the Calabar people too.¹

Eyo had rightly exposed the sentiments of the sermon as reflecting Waddell's impatience--not God's--since God had exercised such considerable restraint for over 1,000 years in the case of Britain.

Directly following this, Waddell proposed that the Ekpenyong images--or ndem powers of the wooded areas--should be thrown into the river.² Waddell used a cunning appeal to social order to expose the danger of allegiance to such a religious symbol:

He [Eyo] said that it was a fool thing, and that not many people minded it now. ' It is also a bad thing, king,' I replied, 'for bad people will trust in it, and pray to it to help them, if they want to do any bad thing. No man can ask God to help him to steal, or commit any wickedness, but they can ask Ekpenyong, and believing in that help, be encouraged to do what they like.' He confessed that it was so.³

Eyo clearly saw that it was in the best interests of a town ordered around the accumulation of wealth to be protected against theft. The argument presented by the missionaries persuaded Eyo that allegiance to Ekpenyong would not best serve the town's interests in financial security. Thus, it was understandable that Eyo quickly pushed through the necessary

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.5, (1850:41).

² U.P.C.M.R, Vol.5, (1850:41); Enang in Hackett (1987:24).

³ Ibid..

palavers with his gentlemen to throw the images of Ekpenyong in the river.¹ However, the move to overthrow Ekpenyong images was probably not as radical as it appeared on the surface. Because Ekpenyong was a deity related to the rural areas--and hence to agriculture²--it is only logical to assume it had been in some decline ever since Calabar had become centred more on commercial river trading. This would certainly explain Eyo's comment that Ekpenyong "was a fool thing, and that not many people minded it now."³ Such a comment provides more anomalous evidence for Okafor's theory that mission preaching was the culprit which destroyed local ideology in what is now Southeastern Nigeria.⁴

Nevertheless, Waddell's argument against Ekpenyong did emphasize a pressing existential community need for protection against theft, which the cult of Ekpenyong apparently encouraged. Eyo's agreement to Waddell's position was, however, a signal of more than economic motives at work. The overthrow of Ekpenyong is partly explained by the fact that the cult had already lessened in importance before the mission arrived, as Eyo hinted. There is also, however, a religious explanation which explains why the cult was not formally overthrown any earlier. The fact that such a major religious symbol of the area could be formally overthrown at least partly in response to Waddell's teaching, was a clear signal of the beginning of reconciliation between the new religious symbols presented by the

¹ Ibid.

² Waddell (1863:328-329).

³ Nair (1977:261-262) suggests this was true in the case of idolatry. See also Nair (1975:55-57).

⁴ Okafor (1981:32-33).

mission and the Efik religion of this period.¹ It signalled that while calls for full allegiance to Christian teaching were still resisted, some select aspects of the mission preaching agenda, notably the exhortation to social change, could be entertained. It is also clear from this episode, that for Eyo and perhaps some other Creek Town leaders, a type of secularization based on their interpretation of the missionary proclamation had now come to forefront. The matters affecting the community most--production and protection of wealth--now seemed to be only marginally addressed by the oldest forms of Calabar religion, these which existed before the Efik had been exposed to Western trade and religion. While a newer, more progressive Efik religious world-view was becoming dominant, the fall of Ekpenyong hinted that less rejection of Christianity and more reformulation of its message to the purposes of the community would lie ahead. Thus, in Creek Town the phase of complete rejection, where no attempt was made to accommodate the new symbols preached by the mission into the Efik view of the world--was relatively short.

5.4.2 Young Eyo Interprets and Selectively Receives Aspects of Waddell's Teaching Before Conversion, 1850

As an example of some emerging interpretations of Waddell's mission preaching to be found among the younger generation in Calabar around late 1850, let us quote this letter from Young Eyo Honesty to the Mission Secretary:

¹ Aye (1987:61) clearly maintains that as the message of Christianity gained ground, it was no doubt a change agent in having Ekpenyong "thrown into the river"; this is *contra* Nair (1977:261-262) who not suprisingly suggests a purely political-material explanation.

...I thank god, our great Father, and I beg him to bring me into the way which you wish; and I thank you very much for your prayer; for we was so long in darkness, as the valley which was full of bones. And I hope that he will cause his holy Spirit to pass by we round; for we are many in open valley of darkness, and we are very dry in our sin. And may the question in the third verse of the chapter [37th of Ezekiel] be to our Saviour for he is willing to give life; and may he send his Spirit to prophesy upon our dead soul, to hear the word of the Lord. And I hope that our Saviour will cause breath to enter into us, and that we shall live and know he is the Lord our God. And I am glad because I find this word in the thirty-seven chapter of Ezekiel, and also I find in Second Corinthians, six chapter, verses 14th, and 16th, and 17th, and 18th, that the Lord call us to come out from dark and evil way, and be promised (and) said, 'I will dwell in them and I will walk in them, and that he will be our God, and we shall be his people; and that he will receive us, and will be our Father, and we shall be his sons and daughters.' So I am very thankful to our Heavenly Father, our Lord and Saviour, for he had open mine eyes to see all this his kindness and his precious promises; and in Psalm 116 chapter, verses 2d, and 5th, and 9th, and Psalm 119 chapter, verses 9th, and 14th, and 16th, and 18th, and 27th, and 33d, and 37th, and 41st, and 46th. I thank God very much for his good book of life, and his teaching, and his beloved Son....I will read my Bible still, and will pray and give thank to Heavenly King, and to our Lord and Saviour--the lover of our soul. And I keep family prayer with my people at home and in country; and on Sabbath I teach them any good thing in Bible which is good to thy soul, and how good God is to us all, and how our Saviour love us, and give his great life for us, and all he do to the world, and how the willing to die to bring us to God. And I read the ten commandments to to them every Sabbath...And I thank God for his goodness to me, as he send unto us good minister which is willing to teach me everything in all his powers, and all other good friend in mission....and please remember me to them; and I am still need of your prayer;--I am, my dear friend, your sincerely, 'Young Eyo Honesty'¹

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.5, (1850:177).

A number of interesting theological elements were present in Young Eyo's interpretations, some of which can be shown to derive in good measure from pre-Christian Efik beliefs. The reference to the Heavenly Father as good, to whom one prays, strongly points to the pre-Christian understanding of Abasi, although the frequency of prayer to God had perhaps increased with the Christian presence.¹ The prominent mention of the Holy Spirit very early in the letter as an immanent, intervening spirit which causes life to come to dead souls, could almost have been equally derived from Efik notions concerning divinities.² However, the role of the Saviour, who causes this breath to enter people that they might live and know that He is lord, represented a new theme. Such teaching was nonetheless clearly intelligible because of its fundamental similarity with the idea of spirits which affected the sphere of human activity, volition, and ideas within Efik religious thought.³

Further, when Young Eyo represented salvation as coming out of a dark place (the valley of dry bones, and idolatrous practice) into a place where one can walk and live confidently because God dwells with them in the spirit, he was using concepts which could be found in Efik pre-Christian religion. Indeed, these terms resonated with the Efik-Ibibio religious conception of salvation as moving from places of peril into lands of protection and prosperity. Such a view of salvation--a transference from a state of danger before the natural and spiritual world to a peril free state--evolved as the Efik-

¹ U.F.C.M.R., (1914:414-415).

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Ibibio people were forced to fight as they migrated, obtained their present land, and hence found safety.¹ If salvation is seen primarily in terms of deliverance from the way and place of human and spiritual enemies, it is no wonder that Young Eyo fastened on scripture verses that promised new life by the Holy Spirit in the land of the living (Psalm 116:9); new life in the way of God's precepts (Psalm 119:27ff.); and new life in order to escape the peril of being in the place of the unclean idols and spirits (2 Cor.6:14ff.). With those components of salvation the aim, it logically followed that Young Eyo and other Efik would have highly prized the scriptures as a guide for the way, perceiving the commandments as prescriptions for action to find that way.²

It is clear from the letter that although Young Eyo wanted to be along "that way" from peril to protection, he felt it was

¹ Enang (1979:106-107); the concept of salvation in Anang is expressed as *edinyanga*, from the verb *nyanga*, to struggle, to fight. In Efik, *nyanga* means to save, or protect, and so the idea that one has to fight and act in order to find home, in order to be saved is at the bottom of the Ibibio-Efik idea of salvation.

² As early as June 1846, Waddell had noted that it was common for some of the free-men to interpret the preaching of the scriptures in terms of Egbo pronouncements; thus, Waddell notes that, "He [Eyamba] seemed to think that God makes known his word to me at times in some such mysterious way as their Egbo gives his law on particular occasions, a way that I alone am privy too." Waddell (MSS 7739:62). In fact, one of the Efik terms for proclamation, "ewuk-ha", means literally "to thrust into ground, as a stick, to fix or ordain laws by two or more putting their head together on a matter", which clearly had connections with the Ekpe society. See Goldie's Dictionary of the Efik language. In light of this, it is not unlikely that the Efik responded to the scripture as a mysterious law from God dictating behaviour because of assumed continuity with the Ekpe society. Therefore, the meaning and use of the scripture would have been controlled by resilient primal structures.

necessary to solicit prayers to assist him to enter into the salvation process. He was not fully committed to the Way of salvation in late 1850, although he was beginning to understand and appreciate it. It is also probable that the points mentioned in the letter were the important components of mission teaching which first commended the Christian message to the Efik. But because he had not yet fully entered into the Way, there must have been other objections in Eyo's mind still needing to be reconciled. One of these may have been the role of the Saviour in the promoting the protection of the people along the liberating path from darkness to light.

Clearly, there is a well developed trinitarian sensibility in Young Eyo's letter, with the Saviour sending forth the Holy Spirit as breath to bear witness to the way, the truth, and the life. It was also clear to Eyo that Jesus was intimately related to God as His Son, while he remained lover of the human "soul" through his interaction with the earth. There is also a reference to atonement--how Christ died to bring us to God. Yet the first and most resonant reference is to the role of the Holy Spirit, which up to 1850 had been given only very infrequent attention in the preaching of the pioneers. The way in which the Holy Spirit had seized the central place in the salvation process for young Eyo was disproportionately evident to its place in the theological exposition of the mission. It is therefore quite reasonable to infer that the relevance of the Holy Spirit was being supplied rather more by the Efik religious concerns than by the pioneer's sermons. Indeed, Eyo had fastened upon some interesting concepts involving the Spirit: "sending the spirit to

prophesy upon our dead souls to hear the word," and beseeching "the saviour to cause breath to enter the Efik". While the mission's preaching had been the source of the teaching on the Holy Spirit, the priority of what was heard always remained with the Efik listeners. These responses of Young Eyo then, may well have been early signs of a future direction Efik Christians would take in recasting the priorities of the mission message, in order to emphasize aspects more central to their own religious concerns.

Equally interesting was the early initiative taken by Young Eyo to teach his fellows the way of Christ from the scriptural sources. This was done despite the fact that Eyo had not at this time been admitted as a communicant of the church. So the local initiative for building Efik Christianity occurred astonishingly early, in a real sense even before there was an Efik church. The role of Young Eyo and other willing, able, and otherwise anonymous Efik in the penetration of the Gospel into their own culture should not be underestimated.

5.4.3 King Eyo Discovers More Incompatibility Between the Christian Preaching and Local Religious Practice, 1850

More objections and discontinuities were to be perceived by King Eyo, however, during this phase around June 1850. The following sermon delivered on 30 June 1850, is an example of how Waddell was attempting to relate Christian symbols to Eyo's apparently materialistic priorities during this phase, a period characterized by secularization:

I had two subjects of discourse today.
The first was the letter of Jeremiah to
the Captives in Babylon to build houses and

plant farms and marry wives and realise families and seek and serve the Lord and pray for the peace of the country, for in the peace thereof they would have peace. I advised the slaves to do the same in Calabar....My second was the advantages of godliness for this life as well as for the life to come. To this I was led by a remark the king made last week that if a man were always thinking about death and his soul and his God, he would become lazy and never try to make money. It was not very difficult to disprove an idea so absurd and unscriptural though so common, as that the service of God made men unserviceable to men. Showed how much more likely a godly man was to succeed in all his works and labours than an ungodly man; for besides having God's blessing on them, he followed them so diligently, honestly, soberly, and honourably as to gain the approbation and confidence of all men. A good man was not lazy, nor a lazy man good. Spoke of the right and wrong ways of gaining riches and the right and wrong uses they were put to, the danger of coveting them, and the eternal ruin of those who loved and trusted in them. God was not poor I said, Eyo smiled, nor would his children be poor except for their good. He could and he usually did give them plenty so long as they did not put their riches in place of God. In that case he would reduce them. Told him what things were better than great riches, namely, a good character, good health, a good conscience, the favour of God, and the salvation of the soul, all which he owned as true. The love of riches I fear is King Eyo's besetting sin, and as he had furnished me with the topic I made full use of it for his own improvement, ending with the text, 'What is a man profited if he gain the whole world, but loses his soul.'¹

Waddell apparently demonstrated rather well that the Christian message could provide practical and material success in the general business of life. Here, Waddell was at great pains to argue that Christian teaching was not irrelevant or isolated from the changing social conditions within the community. It was true enough that a social change to

¹ Waddell MSS (7740:19-20).

Christianity encouraged a broadening of Efik patterns of religious belief, which had clearly not come to terms with the new material conditions of trade in Calabar. Efik religion had become highly vulnerable to change in the interaction with Western modernization--and many hoped that by inviting the missionaries to uncover the secrets of the Bible, the community could transform religious knowledge into other forms of power.¹ So it was significant that Christianity was being shown to be equipping the community better for the modern world, a sphere in which Efik religion had not likewise demonstrated itself. We can see that Eyo was already convinced that religious categories such as the *ndem* and the souls of the ancestors had little to do with good business. Yet Waddell demonstrated that a relation with Jesus and the honour that accrues to the souls of individuals and communities, certainly translated into good business. Clearly such teaching, and its application to the practical spheres of interest of the Efik, counters any notion that missionary proclamation in Calabar divorced Christianity entirely from secular matters.

5.4.4 Efik Resistance to Waddell's Preaching with No Equivalent Categories in Local Patterns of Belief, 1850

The following example demonstrates how those who felt they were close to living the Christian life might make no attempt to reconcile certain points of variance between mission preaching and their traditional religion. The reason for this resistance was that certain Christian symbols or themes simply did not appear to fit in any relevant Efik religious categories. On 7 July 1850,

¹ Hackett (1989:58-59); Nair (1977:252-253, 254, 261).

Waddell preached:

...on the last judgment, reading and explaining successively the passages of scripture which describe the coming of Christ as judge, the rising of the dead, the separation of the righteous and wicked, the opening of the books, the sentences passed, the breaking up of that awful assembly, and the eternal condition of all. It was listened to with very solemn attention...The king asked one question 'How long time it would take God to judge every man for every thing?' but was at once satisfied with my answer, 'One day is with the Lord as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day.' When I had done, King said that the meeting wished to know what they should do to escape that great judgment. I replied that my preaching every Sunday was for that very purpose and I thought they might know by this time. They seemed to think that they were not so far amiss just now in their observance of the divine law. I referred to the 7th, 8th, and 9th commandments as the proof of obedience on their part and when they could say they kept these I would mention others; finally I directed them to Christ and exhorted to repentance.¹

As we have shown elsewhere, the Efik did not have a category in their belief systems in which to place the concept of "judgment". Indeed, in Efik belief, the type of life lived by the dead was not connected with behaviour on earth; they believed that judgments and punishment were applied in this life, not in the life to come.² Finally, the punishment for the evil of the departed came to rest on the living descendants, so Obio-Ekpo was not conceived as a place of punishment or reward.³ Clearly the force of the subject of judgment was lost on the assembly, as shown by the relaxed level of inquiry into it. We can understand Eyo's comment, "How long time it would take God to judge every

¹ Waddell MSS (7740:20).

² Offiong in Hackett (1987:51).

³ Ibid.

man for every thing?", by using inference based on Macgregor's research into Efik cosmology. When Eyo asked how much time it would take to judge man for everything, he may well have assumed that since life in Obio-Ekpo was similar to the land of the living, judgment would be forestalled because of the vast time needed to process everyone. Waddell's reply attempted to sever the notion that time with God is commensurate with human consciousness of time.

The people to whom Waddell had preached the Ten Commandments had given assent to the teaching because of similarities in principle with their religious views. Yet in practice, the people did violate some of their own avowed religious principles, engaging in adultery (which for the mission included polygamy), stealing, and false witness against their neighbours. The people appeared to have simply discounted such prohibitions where they found them irrelevant to the course of their lives. This was especially true of prohibitions against stealing, due to the nature of river trading in Calabar, which undoubtedly rewarded sharp business practice. As a result, no attempt had been made to reconcile these concepts with the ethical principles of Efik religion. The Efik categories of ideal ethical behaviour with which these new Christian prohibitions could be readily identified, were too much in flux.

After a time, the Christian view against stealing came to be associated with a type of protection against losing the divine approval as demonstrated in possessing material goods.¹ As such, a limited reconciliation with Efik world-view took

¹ U.F.C.M.R., (1914:414-415).

place, while another aspect of that world-view was retained. This occurred much later, and to a lesser degree, with the notion of bearing false witness. It is apparent that the notion of monogamy was never fully reconciled at least with cultural practice at least. Monogamy was disregarded to the point that the mission eventually was forced to make some compromises, and allowed polygamists to take up church membership, but not church leadership. Yet the preaching of judgment does not appear to have been a great spur to repentance and conversion, if the lack of response documented here is any indication. It would appear that stressing the positive attributes of following Christ was more effective in securing attention to the message of Christ.

One final note can be added concerning Waddell's prescription for avoiding judgment. In the quotation it appears that he was not very specific about how to avoid it. He merely maintains that his preaching was for the very purpose of escaping that judgment. Such a statement may have been interpreted to mean that one escapes judgment merely by being present to hear the word of God--which would be consistent with other statements made by the mission from time to time on the benefits of hearing the Gospel. This sort of interpretation, coupled with the rather faithful attendance at preaching services of Eyo and his loyal subjects, would go a long way towards explaining how the people could assert they were not far amiss in their observance of the divine law.

Since the notion of judgment clearly did not commend itself to the primal understanding, Waddell felt the need to try another approach. So he attempted to demonstrate the theological

necessity of judgment in light of the historical fact that at times good men suffer while evil men often flourish. Waddell preached on 21 July 1850 to prompt his audience to consider the subject of suffering in this life in relation to good and evil, which Efik primal religion chalked up to the akansa vow or perhaps the punishment of the ancestors:

...[preached] on the parables of the sower and of the tares among the wheat. I argued from the mixture of good and evil in the world the necessity of a future judgment. The king avowed that he had often thought so himself, seeing how often the good suffered and the wicked escaped punishment. I am glad to see some respect for the Sabbath increasing.¹

As a theodicy, this scripture depicts the inevitability of judgment to explain the course of history. Without such a theological view, Eyo agreed that there would be little natural incentive to remain good in this world on the "empirical" evidence; the day would be won by evil. He conceded to the view therefore, that something within the heart of humanity cries out at the injustice of the fact that the evil flourish; some sort of eternal judgment or balancing is therefore necessary to avoid despair or nihilism.

5.4.5 The Identification of King Eyo with the Christian Programme and the Resistance of Slaves to Christian Preaching, 1850

The fact that mission preaching was indeed a response to various developments within the cultural context was demonstrated by Waddell on 24 July 1850. Here Waddell noted that his wife was willing to teach a slave mother who had been punished by Eyo for

¹ Waddell MSS (7740:21).

not guiding her son properly:

Eyo says, 'Oh you have plenty trouble with them, but their ears are very hard. I speak god's word myself to them plenty times, but they no will hear.' [Waddell replied] 'Perhaps he did not duly consider the different feelings with which slaves under punishment would hear the word of God from him and from us, nor make the allowances proper to be made for persons in their condition.'¹

Eyo's initiative at spreading the Gospel was probably done with select elements from his own interpretation of the Christian message.² Waddell's comments provide suggestive hints that Eyo was using select aspects of the Christian message to reinforce social control over his subjects.

Waddell demonstrates in the passage awareness that the identification of the Gospel by the slaves with the interests of their masters would clearly have prevented them from joyfully receiving the message of Jesus as "release for the captives." However, it is not clear how, or even if, Waddell attempted to prevent such negative associations of the Gospel among the slaves, apart from the fact that he was apparently willing in his proclamation to "make the allowances proper...for persons in their condition". Indeed, allowances were made in such preaching on "The Rich Man and Lazarus" (Luke 16:19-31), which particularly pleased the poor--but made the rich uncomfortable among the congregation.³ It was not until March 1854 that slaves freed themselves from this association sufficiently to

¹ Waddell MSS (7741:22).

² Nair (1977:277) citing Marwick (1897:203).

³ Aye (1987:53) maintains that sermons such as these were often deliberately mistranslated; because the rich did not want to become poor to enter heaven, the text was dodged.

make decisions of allegiance to Christian teaching; this provoked enough hostility from Eyo to put them out of his yard.¹ Clearly Christian teaching had convinced some slaves and other poor of the prime advantage to Christianity: it provided a measure of dignity and equality in principle that could not be offered by the king.²

5.4.6 Preaching on the Parables and Literal Interpretation by the Efik as an Obstacle to Understanding, 1850

Of course, the proclamation of some scriptural truths was prevented by the lack of familiarity with certain symbols among the Efik. On 28 July 1850, we get an example of the difficulty Waddell must have encountered during the phase of attempting to relate Christian symbols in continuity to Efik structures of culture and religion:

To day I was on the minor parables in the 13th chapter of Matthew except that of the leaven in the meal which they know nothing about, and I could not make plain to their comprehension and therefore passed over. The treasure hid in the field, and the merchant man buying goodly pearls were easily explained, and seemed fully understood in their obvious literal meaning.³

It is interesting that Waddell was quite aware that the force of the parables' literal meanings may have obscured the spiritual intent of the teachings. The connection between the fine pearls, hidden treasure and the kingdom of heaven was perhaps primarily associated with the kingdom of Calabar, which existed by the buying of selling of palm oil and obtaining possessions as well. The literal meaning of these parables may

¹ Nair (1977:278).

² Okon (1988:52-53).

³ Waddell MSS (7741:23).

have served to create the impression among some Efik that God's kingdom validates the notion of material goods as the base of Calabar power. This interpretation would certainly have run counter to the way Waddell wished his preaching to be interpreted. For him, the parables of the kingdom of God would suggest that the value of human dignity and identity in community should be placed squarely within a spiritual relationship with God. Some of the parables contained concepts with no apparent equivalent in Efik religion. However, as Waddell indicates in the quotation, some of these parables had such cultural continuity with Efik experience that only their literal meanings were initially perceived. Moreover, the discontinuity between the biblical notion of the kingdom and Efik notions of power were neither developed or perceived at this point.

5.4.7 The Reformulation of Elements in Waddell's Preaching Perceived as Incompatible with Local Efik Religion, 1850

We have thus far argued, that as Waddell presented new symbols in his proclamation, the Efik of Creek Town often made interpretations based on the degree of continuity between Christian and Efik religious symbolic structures: if the new symbols were similar enough to Efik patterns of belief, the Christian notions were received as valid. On the other hand, when Waddell preached themes without corresponding categories in Efik religion, the teachings were initially resisted. These teachings were resisted by his Creek Town audience until Waddell could provide more practical interpretive analogies to further guide his listeners where to place the Christian concepts within

their system of belief. If those concrete analogies came along, then, as we have seen, they clearly helped the Efik to receive these aspects of Waddell's teaching, even before he and the mission recognized that a "conversion" had taken place. Additionally, when the Efik placed these new Christian concepts among their own categories of belief, new associations and interpretations occurred to reformulate, or cast different light upon the Christian message.

A second pattern of reformulation occurred during Waddell's preaching interaction with the Creek Town Efik. The following sermon and its interpretation occurred on 26 August 1850. The sermon demonstrates how Eyo interpreted new religious symbols without any corresponding categories in Efik religion--and thereby actually recast some patterns of Efik religious belief:

My subject was from Matthew 25.21 to the end. The case of the Syro-Phoenician woman, I had observed for improvement, had encouraged many mothers in persevering prayer for their children's deliverance from the power of the devil, and with equally good success, whereof I gave several instances which greatly interested my audience. In one case, the parents were dead before their prayers for their son were answered in his conversion. 'They would lose that' King Eyo remarked. 'Not at all, King, they would hear of it among the first in heaven. The angels would hear of it and be glad, much more the young man's parents. This led to some discursive remarks on recent improved modes of conveying intelligence with instant rapidity across land and sea and since God had given that power and knowledge to men much more could he instruct his angels to obtain knowledge instantly from earth and spread it abroad all through heaven. He was satisfied.

The concluding miracle of feeding the many thousands with a few handfuls being explained I asked if such a miracle as that

would not convince men that Jesus was the Son of God and Saviour of the world. 'Yes, every man in Calabar would believe, if they saw such a thing,' replied the King. 'Well, they do it every year they live, King, and yet are not convinced thereby.' He stared at me, till I explained that the yearly growth of provisions in the ground was similar and equally wonderful, a few handful of seed cast into the ground increasing by God's blessing an hundred fold....I quoted the words 'he has not left himself without witness among us in that he does us good, giving us rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness.' As the King explained the audience seemed surprised and then diverted at the correspondence of the course of beneficent providence with wonderful miracle. This led me for improvement to speak of the willingness and ability of our Saviour to supply all the wants of his people, who should confide in him, and to mention various examples of his providential supply to them in times of need, which engaged much attention from my hearers. At the close the king remarked that they often see such things themselves, but forget them again because they no have book to keep them in mind, and he added, 'It is good for you white people, that you saby book, and have all these things write down to teach you from you be young.'...I replied however that such instances of God's merciful dealings with men were so worthy of being held in remembrance that it was a sin to let them slip out of our minds.¹

In both the themes that Waddell presented--the news reaching heaven of a conversion, and the miracle of the "feeding of the thousands"--most Efik would have needed some practical analogies in order to act as a bridge with their own religious categories of meaning. There was some continuity between the Efik and the Christian understanding of prayer, yet the notion of deliverance from the Devil would have been seen as inconsistent with the Efik's greater fear of deliverance from angry ancestors.²

¹ Waddell MSS (7741:27-28).

² U.F.C.M.R., (1914:28-29).

Waddell's story of how the parents were able to pray for their child's salvation, though the salvation was only accomplished after their death, would have probably been seen as impractical; for the Efik assumed that blessing and curse on earth was accomplished more through medicine than through divinities or Abasi.¹ This would explain Eyo's comment, that at death, the parents would lose their ability to affect their earthly wills upon their children through medicine. His comment may indicate the King had in some way confused the idea of affecting persons through medicine with the notion of prayer.

There was also a lack of plausibility in Waddell's story because in a sense it seemed to proceed backwards from the Efik point of view; the blessings and curses of ancestors flow from the dead ancestor to the offspring, yet the offspring are responsible for appealing to obtain or resist these blessings and curses.² In Waddell's theological scenario, the blessing did not flow from dead ancestors with new power in heaven, but from an earlier appeal to God in the earthly life--again, a significant discontinuity. Lastly, the notion of angels as communicators of intelligence had been admitted by Eyo earlier as a missing element in Efik religion. Such an idea was difficult to entertain because the ndem did not function to communicate actions of the living to those in Obio-Ekpo; indeed, only those ancestors who had not been given the proper ikpo treatment had access to the earth to wreak their havoc.³

With regard to the teaching on the provision of God,

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., 28-29, 361-363.

³ Ibid., 361-363.

the Efik did not of course equate the feeding of the five thousand with their daily provision. But this was not because they did not believe that miracles could occur. In fact they perhaps held a higher view of the possibility of the supernatural breaking into the world than did the missionaries. Nonetheless, by associating the feeding of the five thousand with Christ's willingness to provide daily bread through earthly provision, Waddell did succeed in addressing new symbols to a religious category with which the Efik could readily identify. Apparently the view was that certain ndem were responsible for material provision if proper supplication was made.¹ Yet the ndem were not seen as reliable providers,² and it is probable that Eyo's words about forgetting these things were based on the following line of thought: since Christ is held to be a provider, and Christ is identified as an ndem, then the power of the ndem to provide is revitalized by this new symbolic presentation and association. Thus, the Efik religious category dealing with the ndem, was reshaped and reformulated by the new symbols. It is also significant that each of the teachings mentioned above were resisted, until Waddell provided illustrative analogies consistent with his theological view. These analogies eventually made it possible for the Efik to reinterpret the Christian theological conceptions in plausible terms.

¹ U.F.C.M.R., (1914:414-415) Among the Annang Ibibio, such Ndem as Ndem Inwang (God of the farmstead) and Ndem Ikot (God of the plot) have as their portfolio the responsibility for productivity in agriculture. See Enang in Hackett (1987:23-24).

² Ibid.

5.4.8 Perceived Incompatibility Between Efik Local Religion and Waddell's Christian Teaching, from late 1850

We will now follow the discontinuity between Waddell's preaching and Efik understanding late in 1850. Other interesting interpretations were made at this time by the Efik based on their religious and cultural settings, which if they did not serve as obstacles to reception, certainly caused the point of mission teaching to be misdirected. This, too, is a type of reformulation, and the following instances are illustrative of how obstacles to both reception and reformulation ran along the pre-cut channels of Efik religious belief. In the first instance, we discover how Waddell preached on 17 November 1850 on the last sufferings and betrayal of Christ from Matthew 26. The interpretation of his preaching was indeed a reformulation, in which certain elements thought less important by Waddell were seized upon as highly significant in the Efik religious and cultural context:

Some of the particulars much surprised
and others much affected [my listeners]
...The treachery of Judas produced a
thrill of disgust and indignation on the
part of the King and others, yet he said
plenty men here would do the same again.¹

Clearly, the Efik were relating Christian theology to relevant issues of concern within their own religious system. Because the Efik held that people within one's own family or grouping were often responsible for calamity through the use of treacherous magic or witchcraft (ifot), the presence of Judas' betrayal in the passion story excited more interest than Waddell could have

¹ Waddell MSS (7741:49).

predicted.¹ That Christ was also betrayed by one of his closest disciples would certainly resonate with those who were always seeking an answer to the question "who caused this misfortune?", rather than "what caused it?". These same people were often fully prepared to accuse family members of responsibility for early deaths, subjecting them to the *esere bean* ordeal--or "chopping doctor"--as a means for disclosing the identity of those culpable for betrayal.² Despite the disgust of those who knew full well the pain and disruption caused within the community due to such betrayals, Eyo said that such behaviour would have been repeated in Calabar. It was an ironic part of the religious and social contract that individuals, though deriving their identity from the community, were always at greatest risk from others within that same community.

To this day, Efik fascination with the role of Judas has been expressed by the frequent "Judas Plays" encountered in Calabar.³ And while seizing upon the role of Judas' betrayal did not present any interpretative obstacles, from Waddell's point of view it certainly would have been regarded as a distraction from the meaning of Christ's suffering on the cross. Yet because of this betrayal, the Efik could perhaps identify better with the pain of Christ--knowing full well the pain of spiritual and physical opposition from those within the community. Thus, a type of reformulation occurred in which a greater identification was achieved with Christ's suffering than was explicitly portrayed in missionary preaching.

¹ U.F.C.M.R., (1914:223-224).

² Ibid., 176-177, 223-224.

³ Simmons (1961b:100-110).

5.5 The Phase of Greatest Resistance to Waddell's Preaching Concluded, 1851

5.5.1 Reconciliation of Waddell's Preaching on the Future Great Judgment

As we have argued, some of the points of greatest discontinuity between the mission representation of the Gospel and the Calabar world-view were reconciled after a time. As the discontinuities were shown to be less severe, certain Efik religious symbols may have begun to fall out of use, even though large patterns of the religious system remained intact. The following example from 18 May 1851 reflects such a situation, with Eyo's response demonstrating that the friction between Christian and Efik religious belief had resulted in some measure of ideological change:

...preached from Paul's address at Athens. Speaking of the future great and dreadful judgment, I said, 'But Calabar men don't believe that the dead will rise again and be judged.' The king replied, 'O before they no believe that, but now they begin to believe it.' I was glad to hear that much of a concession to the truth.¹

The case above also suggests that by this time in 1851, Waddell was addressing his message more to perceived categories of Efik religion--as illustrated by his awareness of previous Efik objections to such elements as resurrection and judgment. It is also interesting that Waddell was attempting to pitch his arguments against what he perceived as the discontinuity between the Gospel message and Calabar belief--yet that discontinuity was beginning to be reconciled under local initiative. This incident provides some preliminary evidence

¹ Waddell MSS (7741:88).

that the phase of Efik rejection--where the discontinuity between mission proclamation and local religious concepts were at their greatest--had begun to pass by 1851. Apparently such shifts in belief were born of the very force of the Christian symbols of resurrection and judgment, which Eyo regarded as having begun to reshape the Calabar religious patterns.

5.5.2 Response in the Run-Up to the First Baptisms in 1853: More Perceived Compatibility with Aspects of Christianity

We can see that some discontinuities--and thus areas of resistance--were being ameliorated in the run-up to the first "conversions" in 1853. During Waddell's serial course of teaching on Old Testament history (begun in October 1851 and running with one interruption through 1852) aspects of the teaching were still found objectionable; the story of The Flood and the Destruction of Sodom and Gommorah with fire and brimstone frightened the congregation.¹ Nonetheless, some compatibilities were perceived with the Christian preaching content. The fate of Lot's wife in the biblical passage was met with sorrow. Elements of local culture caused the congregation to seize upon the lesson of obedience--but for altogether different reasons than the mission intended. Because of local custom which asserted that a disobedient wife constituted a grave rupture in the social harmony, the people took the view that Lot's wife received a just punishment for her disobedience.²

There remained, however, considerable resistance to

¹ Aye (1987:52).

² Ibid.

Christian teaching among the rank and file of Efik society around 1851 and 1852. The lessening of resistance in these terms was at this phase confined largely to the House of Eyo and other Efik leaders. In the following sermon, from 4 January 1852, we can note that resistance to the mission message--particularly its prohibitions against twin killing--had lessened with King Eyo and his son. On the other hand, objections to the mission's teaching on the subject were being maintained, or were perhaps even becoming more heightened, among the common folk around Creek Town:

The subject of exposition to day in the public meeting was Jacob and Esau. Their being twins enabled one to speak pointedly and severely on the barbarous cruelty exercised in this country on twins born. King Eyo said that the people of this country are so strong for that bad fashion that they curse him now because he promise to make it knock off in this town. Jacob's refusing food to his brother Esau till he should sell his birthright appeared to Young Eyo and others as very cruel. The common objection. I defended Jacob as having done nothing wrong, yea, as having done quite right...Esau in his wild pursuits neglected the worship and instruction as well as the other duties of his fathers' family, and made little of the spiritual blessings which constituted the chief part of his spiritual blessing....Esau's bewailing his loss at a later period of his life seems to have deeply impressed young Eyo's mind. He said that he had that morning prayed that God would make some word impress his mind to day, and that since he heard of Esau losing his birthright and being unable to regain it though he afterwards sought it earnestly with crying and tears, he could not get the thought out of his mind. May the Lord fasten it there as a nail in a sure place.¹

Despite King Eyo's apparent opposition to twin killing, the

¹ Waddell MSS (8953:76-77).

resistance of the community to change in this social dimension certainly weighed heavily upon him. Resistance to Waddell's biblical arguments, with such profound implications for the social fabric, was weakening in the house of Eyo. However, Young Eyo still had some objections about Jacob refusing food to Esau, until his brother sold his birthright. Young Eyo's response to the sermon--that Jacob's actions were very cruel--was, according to Waddell, a common objection. It was common because it was entirely consistent with the Efik religious view which saw the blessing of ancestors as something sacred, and with which there should be no interference.¹ Indeed, interference with the blessings and curses of the ancestors was regulated and reserved in Efik society through the abioidong's use of medicine, often regarded by the house of Eyo as nothing but chicanery.²

Waddell continued preaching on Jacob the next sabbath, 11 January 1852, bringing himself to the strained subject of polygamy. The sermon that follows is a prime example of issues which would prove ultimately resistant to reconciliation, despite the lessening of disparity between patterns of Christian and Efik religious belief during this period. In the particular case of polygamy, neither those who were only sympathetic to Christianity, nor those who ultimately accepted it, ever fully reconciled the points of variance between Christian teaching and Efik religious and social patterns. Therefore, as we can see in this excerpt, explicit teaching against polygamy

¹ U.F.C.M.R., (1914:28-29).

² Ibid., 28-29, 361-362.

was simply dismissed as incompatible with Efik culture, as had been done with this topic previously.¹ Also in this case, we can see other elements of Waddell's proclamation being seized upon by the Efik as more relevant:

My subject to day was Jacob from the time he left his father's house. His two wives and the way he was entrapped into polygamy could not be passed over, and yet it was a rather delicate pursuit to handle. I showed however that it was not his wish to have two wives, and that he was the first good man we read of who had more than one and thereby made the best of it. His wrestling with the angel all night, and his peaceable meeting with his brother Esau obtained marked attention...I read in conclusion the first chapter of my translation of Joseph, which seemed to be perfectly understood, though the King said he did not hear proper, meaning the names of persons and places, or as he called them 'makara [white-man] words', which occur in that first chapter, the 37th of Genesis.²

It is significant that no explicit mention of any response was registered by the listeners to the teaching on monogamy. That silence, in conjunction with the comment that the teaching was "a delicate pursuit" suggests that the response was indeed rather icy.

On the other hand, as if to compensate for the dismissal of monogamy, the audience showed great interest in the notion of human and spiritual beings wrestling in such close relation. No doubt such attention followed upon the assumption that immanent spiritual powers frequently affect humans in the mundane sphere

¹ See Waddell MSS (8953:51) from the date of 2 November 1851, rather than the date of 23 November as in U.P.C.M.R., Vol.7, (1852:169-170).

² Waddell MSS (8953:78-79).

--a feature shared by Efik and biblical world-views. Indeed, the passage seems to confirm for the Efik how the spheres of the mundane and the supernatural co-mingle, interpenetrate, and are conceived as integrated.¹ Likewise, the portion of the story in which injured family relations are restored between Jacob and Esau would have held much interest among a people for whom community integration is the ideal, while widespread rupture in the community--frequently within the arena of the family--is the reality.²

The difficulty of hearing so many Semitic proper person and place nouns rendered through English, also impeded the communication and interpretation process. Indeed, Waddell's Efik translation of the story of Joseph was rendered so imperfectly, that it was almost incomprehensible; consequently, it encouraged his listeners to be dismissive of the story.³ Thus it appears that at this stage, both the form and content of the Christian representation were received or resisted according to the degree to which the concepts and words of the Waddell's preaching were continuous with Efik religion and language. Thus patterns of Efik belief, despite a measure of ideological change, were still very much intact even on the eve of the first "conversions".

5.5.3 Remaining Obstacles to Conversion: Lack of Equivalent Concepts in Efik Religious Categories, 1852

¹ U.F.C.M.R., (1913:595-596) and (1914:414-415).

² U.F.C.M.R., (1914:28-29, 176-177, 223-224, 414-415).

³ Ibid., see later reactions on 18 January to Waddell's imperfect rendering of Efik dialect in his translation of the story of Joseph.

At this time in 1852, variances between competing Christian and primal concepts were clearly hindering conversion in terms the mission would recognize. Yet the lack of corresponding themes and categories in Efik religion were also proving an obstacle to the penetration of Christianity into Creek Town culture. An example of this, pointing to one of the most important reasons why King Eyo ultimately could not profess allegiance to Christ, was a sermon on Romans 8 from 4 April 1852:

Today I resumed the precious subject
...where I left off last Sabbath,
namely, 'He that spared not his own Son,
etc.' The King seemed much interested in it
... I also had good enlargement and comfort in
the subject. The king said that he did not
think any man could know that his sins were
forgiven of God....It showed he was thinking,
perhaps feeling on the subject of pardon of
sins, a subject, on which only two or three
youths hitherto have displayed any sensibility.
I assured him to the contrary and explained it
to his comprehension by a familiar example.¹

We have seen previously how reformulations took place involving the recasting of Christian symbols to better fit into resilient Efik religious categories of belief. We have likewise encountered other instances in which the converse occurred--where Efik beliefs were somewhat recast in particular categories to accommodate forceful Christian symbols. Yet the excerpt above demonstrates that a third variety of interpretation is possible --in which the lack of a religious analogy from the point of view of the receiver caused a confusion about the relevance of the new message. This was perhaps the most difficult type of interpretative obstacle for the Efik to overcome in their

¹ Waddell MSS (8953:112).

interaction with the Christian proclamation. For King Eyo the question remained of the necessity and possibility of being pardoned for sin. Accordingly, Eyo's views rendered Waddell's teaching on the answer to sin--Jesus Christ--still largely irrelevant at that stage. A method for prompting the Efik to recognize God's holiness, human sinfulness, and therefore the need for a Saviour--themes with little emphasis in Efik religion as Waddell defined it--had so far eluded him. Not surprisingly, around this time it caused Waddell to despair of ever registering converts.¹

As it turned out, it was only the young men Waddell mentioned in passing who caught sight of the necessity and possibility of being rescued from their sin. They were converted the following year. Thus, the first converts were young men who in the formation of their world-view, had been exposed to the mission's teaching as well as to Efik religion. Consequently, categories were present in their cognitive map of reality which allowed them to process the notion of sin and the need for redemption through Jesus Christ. Those still resistant in 1854 were older.² Thus, if one could have compared the mental map of King Eyo and of young Eyo before the latter's conversion, one would have noted a significant difference: young Eyo possessed a strongly developed recognition of personal sin, which was lacking in his father--because the king had not been

¹ Ibid.; see Waddell's later reflections on the same page, in which he asks how long it will be till the people cry out, "What must I do to be saved?", and catalogues such theological themes that find little parallel or place in Efik primal thought.

² Waddell MSS (7742:43-44, 47-53).

exposed to such an idea in the formative period of his youth.

5.6 First Baptisms and Patterns of Response to Waddell's Preaching, from 1853

From 1853, the young people began to receive the Gospel represented by the mission, but already that reception was controlled by their previous channels of world-view. It was simply that those who converted had acquired Christian elements in their world-view. These cognitive patterns allowed them to recognize the relevance of the mission proclamation and act on it. Yet, their conversion was also subject to the reformulation of that message. Naturally, that reformulation ran along the lines of the previous elements in their world-view, provided by the Efik religious and cultural context; so the impulse among the young converts would have been to include Christianity into their old patterns of religious adherence. Indeed, Eyo and others among the first young converts soon were intent on relating their Christian faith to participation in such local religious elements as funeral rites and Ekpe observances.¹ Thus, both the reception and subsequent reformulation process involved assent to foreign symbols as they were placed within the grid of meaning provided by Efik religion. As can be seen in Appendix V, this reformulation--which involved relating Christian symbols to the most relevant Efik religious categories--was done under the initiative of the converts themselves. Thus, there were both unique individual and communal Efik "Christianities" already emerging as early as 1853. These "Christianities" possessed elements of both strength

¹ Waddell MSS (7742:47-48).

and weakness¹--as well as compatibilities and frictions with Efik patterns of religious belief.

Here we must conclude our examination of Efik response to Waddell's Creek Town preaching. From 1854 onwards, as we have discussed in an earlier chapter, the records of Waddell's preaching become slight up until his retirement in 1858. Even slighter still is Waddell's documentation of Efik response to his teaching over this period. This paucity of evidence is partly explained by the fact that Waddell became increasingly taken up with restoring Eyo and some of the other young converts--whose inclinations to continue certain Efik religious practices were still strongly governing their Christian response. In Waddell's view, the young men's early attempts to reconcile local culture with Christian teaching were perceived as momentary lapses into apostasy.² They should remind us, rather, of the resiliency of Efik religion. These struggles also demonstrate another equally important fact: because of the serial nature of the penetration of the Christian message into culture, the representation of the Gospel by Waddell and the mission--itself already a reformulated Gospel--had to be reformulated again in order to be fully received by the people

¹ For an example of a strong responsible decision by Eyo in November of 1854 regarding the admissibility of continuing funeral ceremonies as a Christian, see Waddell MSS (7742:47). Yet, one must note the terrible attraction to polygamy still present in Eyo at the same time, and Waddell's rather harsh censures of these indulgences, Ibid., 50-51. Religious ideology strongly related to social relations proved most resistant to change--as young Eyo struggled the rest of his life to reconcile his resilient Efik religious beliefs sanctioning polygamy with the mission teaching on the subject.

² See Waddell (MSS 7742:50-51).

of the Cross River area.

5.7 Conclusion

We have examined the details of Waddell's proclamation in Creek Town, and suggested ways in which resilient patterns of Efik world-view were active in the people's rejection, reception, and reformulation of that message. By limiting our study to Waddell, we have discovered the nature and shape of Efik initiative in receiving and reformulating the preached Word in Creek Town between 1846 and 1858. Specifically to the Creek Town context, we have discovered how reception of the Christian representation was initially limited to theological elements most compatible with the Efik religious tradition.

We have also learned that transformation of allegiance from Efik to Christian religious symbols did indeed occur, but the categories in which the Christian symbols were placed--and which also governed how those symbols would be related to the most pressing concerns of the people--were still intact and governed by the Efik religious and cultural map of the universe. Theological concepts offered in stark discontinuity to Efik religion, or with no equivalent categories in Efik thought, were largely dismissed as irrelevant. At such points the message was resisted or rejected.

However, such phases of rejection--points at which the incompatibility between mission proclamation and local religion was greatest--were necessary precursors of widespread religious change. In the case of Creek Town, this period of resistance and rejection was comparatively brief, from shortly after the

mission's arrival to around 1850-51. This was due to the eagerness of King Eyo to discover and highlight points of similarity between Efik religious principles and the mission message, in order to secure the long-term benefits of the mission education program for his community. The fact that the King often overlooked conflicts between Christian teaching and actual Efik behaviour, only indicates that he was keen to purchase those benefits with the least amount of social and cultural change.

Following this period of rejection, a period of decreasing resistance occurred until the first baptisms were registered, and continued as the foundations of the Church in Creek Town began to emerge. In this period of decreasing resistance, the incompatibilities between Christian and Efik religious categories were found increasingly by the Efik to be less severe, and certain of their religious symbols began to fall into desuetude. However, Efik religious categories and association which provided meaning for those symbols remained largely intact, even if impoverished. Until these Efik religious categories expanded or were altered to allow the insertion of Christian symbols, a certain measure of secularization prevailed in the community. This occurred in its most widespread form in Creek Town during the period of transition from 1858-1880; on the eve of this period we saw in Young Eyo an example of how--although people were beginning to profess allegiance to Christ over this period--they would also struggle against disruption of their religious patterns or their full displacement by Christian symbols and

categories.

Upon reception, it was likewise discovered that the process of reformulation, at least in Creek Town from the early 1850s, involved reconciling in some fashion the points of friction between mission proclamation and Efik interpretation. This "reformulation of reconciliation" was a process in which the new Christian symbols were placed within the most relevant categories of Efik belief. In this process, Efik patterns of religious concern were never fully extirpated by the Western patterns of religious value which organized the preaching of Christian symbols. In reality, the reconciliation meant that the new symbols never fully fitted into the Efik religious categories. Indeed, there were some Christian themes with no equivalent Efik categories of belief. Therefore in some cases, there was simply no place to accommodate or interpret the Christian conceptions.

As a result, reformulation took two forms. In the first variety, the reformulation of symbols was done with the Efik religious patterns governing the reconciliation process: here the "shape" or meaning of the Christian symbols was altered somewhat to fit into categories which pointed to relevant religious and cultural needs within Efik society. The placement of these Christian symbols and concepts into Efik categories with their own patterns of association gave rise to new meanings for the Christian symbols. In this chapter, we have demonstrated how this occurred in Creek Town even before the first baptisms took place.

The second type of reformulation observed in Creek Town also involved friction between the Christian concepts

presented by the mission and religious categories possessed by the Efik there. Yet in this case, the Efik perceived the Christian concepts to be more effective descriptions and prescriptions for managing their hostile spiritual and physical environment. It therefore became expedient for the Efik to re-order their religious categories in order to accommodate these various Christian aspects of world-view. In fact, some of these religious elements were already under pressure to change from the secular influence of the trading environment, prior to the coming of the missionaries in Calabar. Changes in religious and cultural ideas which were reflections of, or responsible for the maintenance of social institutions unifying the community, were resisted much more strenuously.

We have also discovered that for those who professed allegiance to certain central Christian symbols compatible with their prior beliefs, in some cases points of friction between Waddell's Christian proclamation and other aspects of their local religion were never reconciled. Christian theological elements, such as monogamy, without clear analogies in Efik patterns of belief--and particularly at variance with ideology deeply connected with strong unifying social institutions--were also in the long run simply disregarded irrelevant. At no point then, were the local religious structures extirpated in Creek Town. Rather, at every stage, even significantly before the first baptisms were recorded in 1853, the reception and the reformulation of the Christian proclamation in Creek Town ran largely along the channels provided by the people's religious and cultural heritage. The

initiative for the interpretation of Hope Waddell's representation of the Christian message was controlled by the Efik people themselves in Creek Town, as we have shown from 1846-1858. Furthermore, the process of relating Christian concepts to the deeper categories of Efik religious meaning and concern was done by the young converts of Creek Town, first in the early 1850s, increasingly from 1858.

Chapter 6

Resistance, Receptance, Reformulation: Efik Response to the
Proclamation of Hugh Goldie in Creek Town, 1848-1853;
William Anderson at Duke Town, 1849-1895;
and in the Wider Cross River Basin,
1878-1890

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will continue our examination into how Efik world-view contributed to the resistance, receptance, and reformulation of the Gospel at Calabar. Our focus will again be on the nature of Efik response. In the preceding chapter we treated the response to Waddell's preaching. Here we shall proceed to examine the response to Hugh Goldie's meticulous exposition of the Bible at Creek Town, as well as Duke Town's perceptions of William Anderson's preaching. We will also examine a number of noteworthy representations of the Gospel by various missionaries in the up-river areas.

As in the last chapter, the focus will remain on the verbal response recorded in the historical sources. In all of our examples, we have selected instances in which the verbal reactions of individuals illustrate how Efik religious beliefs remained dominant in the interpretive process. By studying the local response to the preaching of Goldie, Anderson, and others, we can begin to build up a picture of the kind of Christianity that was emerging in the principal urban areas of Calabar from the mid 1850s to the end of the nineteenth-century.

6.2 Efik Resistance, Receptance, and Reformulation of Hugh Goldie's Preaching at Creek Town

6.2.1 Early Responses to Hugh Goldie's Preaching, 1848-1849

6.2.1.1 Sources and Goldie's Preaching on the Ten Commandments

In 1863, Goldie began to systematically teach entire books of the scripture following the publication of his New Testament

in Efik the previous year.¹ After 1862 then, we do not have sources from which to draw a representative picture of the Creek Town response to Goldie's preaching. However, in the documentation that has come down to us of Goldie's early preaching at Creek Town during Waddell's absence, we can note the considerable presence of Efik verbal feedback. The records are especially full of such references during Goldie's occupation of the Creek Town station from May 1848--August 1849. A study of the response to Goldie's teaching at Creek Town during this period, will help then to supplement the lacunae in our knowledge of how the Efik there interpreted the Gospel in the station's early days.

Goldie, like Waddell, began his development of the Christian message at Creek Town with a treatment of "God's claim of authority, and the giving of the moral Law" from Exodus 20.2, on 13 August 1848.² As Goldie treated the theme, the notion of God's holiness and his demand for moral obedience in humans, was clearly understood and assented to by King Eyo. Eyo himself mentioned that all were ready to obey God and acknowledge his authority, even as they in times past obeyed the pronouncements of the Abioidong as commandments of God "to sacrifice to the dead, to Ekpon yong, Ebok, or to abstain from the flesh of fowls."³ So in Efik belief the pronouncements made by the Abioidong were identified with the very commandments of

¹ Christie (MSS:1862); Five-hundred copies were printed of Goldie's translation, at the expense of the National Bible Society of Scotland.

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:43).

³ Ibid.

God. Since the Christian proclamation was presented on this occasion as God's commandments, Goldie's preaching was closely associated with the Abioidong's pronouncements. It is not surprising then that these initial commandments--on keeping the Sabbath and honouring parents, were affirmed by Eyo as ideals towards which the community already strove.¹ Furthermore, though King Eyo associating the commandments of the Abioidong and God, the King and his people would have had their highest religious aspirations reinforced by Goldie's teaching on the moral Law of God.

Even when the missionaries tried to preach love rather than law, Efik notions about the role of public communication--palavering--clearly predisposed many Efik to interpret the Gospel of Jesus as a new set of commandments. These commandments required certain behavioural responses to secure earthly provisions and a long life.² One of the Efik words used for proclamation related to the Gospel--*wuk* (proclaim) or *wuk-ha* (proclamation)--meant literally to thrust something into the ground, often a stick, in order to fix or ordain laws when two or more people came together in palaver fashion to decide a

¹ See Goldie's preaching on 27 August 1848, op.cit., 43-44. It is true that the perception of what constituted the sabbath day of rest differed, but this was a difference more of degree than substance. Although King Eyo did not give people work to do on God's day, he thought that the demand to keep the Sabbath free of play and selling at the market would be strongly resisted for some time.

² See Waddell (1863:493-494) and U.P.C.M.R., Vol.5, (1850:176); For another case in which Goldie was told to preach on "the things God did not like", as well as "what to do to please God in order to make food grow", see the text from 30 October 1848 in U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:130).

matter.¹ Another phrase used to denote Christian preaching, "Eriquara me eritin ika Abasi", when rendered into English includes the notions of proclaiming, talking, or making palaver about the Word of God; such a phrase also includes the connotation of a case being brought to judgment, with a sentence or deliverance pending in the case.² Clearly the Efik interpretation of mission preaching as "God-palaver" involved seeing preaching in terms of the palaver, with all of its own implications. The association of Christian public preaching with the palaver perhaps gave rise to an Efik tendency to regard Christianity initially as purely an ethical system--requiring adherence to norms of behaviour, on pain of penalty.³

This view of the Christian message did nothing to discourage the further consideration of it by the community. However, it soon became obvious to the King and others that differences between the mission message and actual Efik religious practice would be more difficult to reconcile. Our evidence suggests that early views of preaching in Creek Town regarded it as palavering over a new set of laws, often in keeping with Efik religious ideals, if not practice.

The religious practice of the community at this time had already begun to diverge in some instances from the ideals of the community, and in ways the mission could approve. As we saw in the last chapter, under the influence of longstanding

¹ See Goldie (1874), *Dictionary of the Efik Language*.

² Ibid.

³ For other later evidence that preaching was interpreted as palaver, see the response to Ross' preaching in U.P.C.M.R., Vol.7, new series, (1878:289).

trade with Western nations and commercial competition on the Cross River, Efik religious views had long been adapting to new conditions.¹ An example of such emerging differences in Efik religious ideal and practice can be seen in Eyo's response to Goldie's preaching on 3 September 1848:

Usual meeting...subject of address sixth, seventh, and eighth commandments. On the sixth commandment, the custom of killing slaves on the death of their master, came again under notice. The king said, 'They give dead man part of all the coppers [form of Calabar currency] he has got, and they think slave be like other coppers.' 'They do not kill them, then, to go with their master, to the other world? I asked. 'O no!' said Eyo, 'when I go for ground I don't know where I go, but I have people about me all the time now; when I sleep I don't sleep by myself in the house, I have boy with me to call, and they think it be pity that I go for ground by myself; and so they kill slave. They think hard to break off this fashion; but it be breaking off. One of my head men die, I make devil for him now, and his slaves come ask me why I no kill man for him; though, suppose any body be killed, it be these slaves. Well I say to them, tell me which of you I must kill; but no one willing to be killed.' On the eighth commandment, I spoke of the idle people who live upon others, which afforded my audience a theme for a good deal of talking and laughing. 'They think that good, said the king, 'we got plenty lazy people here; but we not got plenty kind of work for all men and woman, same as you.'²

King Eyo described here what he considered was the prevailing view in Calabar: slaves were regarded as property rather than as persons. Yet the reasons he gave for including sacrificed slaves in the burial were far from uniform. Goldie's comments indicate he had learned that free-men sacrificed slaves in order for a master to have the same status in Obio-Ekpo as he

¹ Forde (1956:xii-xiii).

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:43).

possessed on earth. This view is confirmed by later ethnography-- which suggests that large numbers of Efik indeed regarded the practice in those terms.¹ However, the quotation suggests that Eyo himself regarded putting coppers and slaves in the ground as simply a show of wealth. It follows from this, that Eyo's view of slaves as property remained firm, due to the fact that his standing in Calabar and in posterity depended upon this show of accumulated wealth and power.

Yet clearly Eyo's religious practice was not the same as his ideals. Eyo claimed to have done the ikpo ceremonies for a recently deceased head men without sacrificing slaves. His reasons for not sacrificing slaves were pragmatic, for he based his arguments on the following rhetorical question: which slave is willing to be killed then to uphold the community's religious ideals? All this suggests that Eyo was willing to let go of sacrifices as a religious ideology if substitute symbols of pecuniary power were retained. Moreover, Eyo indicates here that there had been some weakening of those community religious ideals which demanded the killing of slaves for the death of a master. Eyo's willingness to engage in alternative ikpo ceremonies as a show of respect for wealthy head men, along with his indication that Efik religious ideals were diverse, clearly indicates that Efik world-view was adapting in response to the conditions of river trading, as well as to the values of the missionaries.

As for the response to Goldie's treatment of the eighth commandment, Eyo and other property holders were understandably sympathetic to teaching which urged slaves to work, rather

¹ U.F.C.M.R., (1914:363) and Offiong in Hackett (1987:47).

than relying on consumption of the master's goods. Eyo nonetheless countered the charge that Efik idlers were evil, on the grounds that the local economy without the slave trade was insufficiently developed to provide work for all. Thus, communal obligations were behind the resistance to the ideas that all "idlers" had broken the law of God. Evidently, Eyo recognized such a reading of the eighth commandment to be a luxury of a more developed nation.

6.2.1.2 Reflections on Goldie's Preaching and the Resurgence of Efik Religious Categories at Creek Town.

The exposure to Christian preaching had a salubrious effect on Efik religion in some cases. As the leaders in Creek Town contemplated the merits of this new religion, they interpreted and measured those merits in comparison to familiar elements within their own religion. As we saw with Eyo in the last section, because of the long interaction with the West in trading--and now with the coming of the mission--some Efik had become somewhat ambivalent or even inconsistent in their religious ideals. Exposure to new Christian ideas encouraged the Efik to compare them to aspects of their own belief, ultimately serving to promote the resiliency of some Efik religious categories. An example of this occurred over the course of two Sabbath meetings under the teaching of Hugh Goldie. On 17 September 1848, Goldie addressed his Creek Town audience on "the curse of the law" from Galatians 3.10: "speaking of hell, the king repeated a remark he formerly made, 'They don't think there be anything after this world--they think only of this world.'"¹

¹ U.P.C.M.R., loc.cit.

From Eyo's comment, there was clearly some doubt about the existence of Obio-Ekpo in the minds of the leading men of Creek Town at this time.

Yet the following Sunday, 24 September, under exposure to Goldie's teaching, a different set of responses was registered by the King concerning Creek Town views on the afterlife:

...subject of address the great love of God in the gift of his Son; the gift, and the purpose of that gift. Again King Eyo remarked, 'No black man think he live after this world;' adding, 'and plenty white men think same way. Plenty Calabar think,' he continued, 'that he be born again into this world. He say, "I be bad man, I be poor man and slave; next time I be born gentleman and rich man."' When speaking of heaven he remarked, 'Suppose men think when they die, they go to live with God all time; they kill themselves to go to God at once.' 'A man that kills himself cannot go to heaven,' I said. 'No,' rejoined the king; as he breaks God's law, which says, you must not kill: and when he kills himself he does not leave himself time to repent.' This the king interpreted to the others, who were amused by it...I do not know what point in it struck them as amusing.

[At the evening service with Young Eyo]...I asked respecting the belief of the Calabar people in the transmigration of souls? 'O plenty man believe it,' he said; and pointing to a young man who sat beside him, 'See Ogu, he have t'other name, "Nyong." His mother have one child, he die; she have second child, he die; and then she have Ogu, and she think it all be one child; he come and go.' 'And what is the meaning of Nyong?; 'It mean one that don't stand all time, but come and go.' Any man believe he be born alligator or tiger? No, No."¹

Here is a clear reference in which King Eyo clarified his view on the afterlife in response to his exposure to Christian teaching. We see that Goldie's teaching on the two successive Sundays resulted in Eyo refining his views and making a subtle

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.3, (1849:44-45).

distinction. For although Eyo had said earlier that Calabar men do not believe in an afterlife, he wished to make clear later that many still held to the view of reincarnation according to the akansa vows made while living.

We hear later from Young Eyo that most men still believed in transmigration--or the replenishing of the community through the reincarnation of its limited stock of souls.¹ Therefore, the Christian view of living eternally with God--with no wish or provision to return to earth--would have been unacceptable. For if the community's limited stock of souls were not reincarnated, the earthly Efik community could not be renewed, and its survival would be in jeopardy. The new Christian symbol--the afterlife--was placed alongside the remaining Efik religious belief of transmigration. The result gave rise to a theological interpretation hazardous to local identity. Since the Efik held to transmigration, the individual had a vested interest in submerging his or her welfare for the preservation of the community. Therefore, the idea of increasing individual standing before God at the expense of family and community, would have offered little incentive for the King or his subjects to accept this new Christian conception.

Despite the resistance to Goldie's teaching on the afterlife, we can see in the process a stiffening of Efik appreciation and awareness of their religious beliefs. The resurgence of more clearly held religious views--particularly a reincarnation and transmigration of souls to replenish the community--clearly followed reflection on the relationship

¹ U.F.C.M.R., (1913:595-596).

between Christian and Efik religious concepts. In this way, the Efik religion was re-asserted with integrity in response to its Christian interaction.

6.2.1.3 Conflict and Dialogue: Christian and Efik Religious Concepts of Sin, Suffering, and Satan.

The next example of preaching in Creek Town demonstrates how Christian and Efik theology formulated different notions about the origin of sin, suffering, and the identity of "the devil." We can also note how these differences created dialogues in which people simply talked past one another. On 16 October 1848, Hugh Goldie addressed the subjects of sin and death:

Held the usual meeting...Subject: The entrance of sin and death into the world. Rom.5.12. Speaking of the ravages of death, the king proposed the question, 'Why children die who never do any bad?' and as if not satisfied with the reply, or in order to make his case the stronger, pressed the point, 'Why children born dead; An old man fell to abusing the devil for leading our first parents into sin; and Adam, also, was generally censured forgiving ear to his lies. George Eyo thought that Adam acted too hastily, that he should have taken a sleep upon the matter, and when he awoke, his better mind would have returned. To George, who called at the mission house in the evening, I said that Adam did what many men do still, they don't hear what God says, but they hear what the devil says. 'What man hear what the devil say?' he asked with some surprise. 'Many people in Calabar,' I said. 'No, no,' says George, 'every man hear what God says.' 'Go into many houses, will you not see Ekpongyong [Ekpenyong] in the yard? Do not many men make prayer to Ekpongyong?' 'True, true, that be old fashion, but since you come, all men saby Ekpongyong be nothing. We go put him away. You no see Ekpongyong live for my house, I put him away long time.'¹

The responses King Eyo made in this quotation represented

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:71).

questions answered unsatisfactorily by the local religion; but Goldie's scriptural explanations were also apparently unconvincing. Eyo cogently asked why innocent children die? We do not have Goldie's reply in the record--yet a sublapsarian Calvinist would nonetheless have been at pains to demonstrate how the fall of humanity imputes guilt to all, regardless of any subsequent personal actions.¹ So Eyo's question cuts right against the grain of Goldie's theodicy: is not God responsible for sin? Goldie presumably countered by pointing to the role of Satan as the tempter, while Adam and Eve remained responsible agents in their decision to rebel against God's commandment. This would explain why an old man began to "abuse the devil for leading our first parents into sin", as well as the general censure of Adam's decision to entertain lies. However, it is

¹ Marwick indicates (1897:155, 157) that William Jameson had taught Goldie his theology in Jamaica, using Dick's *Lectures in Theology* in 4 vols, which argues for the sublapsarian position (1838:183-184, vol.1); Dick maintained that sublapsarians agree with supralapsarians in holding that God has chosen some to life and doomed others to death, and decreed to send His Son to save the former. However, supralapsarians hold that God created humanity and placed it in such circumstances that the fall would necessarily follow; humanity was elected or rejected without any consideration of the fall, viewed by God as creatures, not sinners. However, Dick maintained that the idea of God destroying intelligent creatures before they had committed sin, and even prior to the consideration of it was revolting. Instead, he opted for the sublapsarian position, which holds that God having foreseen from all eternity that humanity would fall from innocence, elected some to everlasting life and the the rest to perish. The objects of God's decrees were sinners, not simply creatures. Dick admits the counter-argument is persuasive: that if the fall of man was foreseen, it was infallibly decreed from eternity. So he concedes that sublapsarians do not remove all difficulties, but merely speak in less offensive terms. Dick advised his students to adopt the milder tone on such an abstruse matter, the sublapsarian position being more consistent with notions of the moral character of God.

unlikely that Goldie and his hearers were referring to the same concept when they employed the term "devil". The quotation suggests that when the old man and George Eyo used the term "devil"--they were perhaps equating the "devil" with older local supernatural powers such as Ekpenyong. If so, Goldie and his listeners were attributing the temptation and torment of humanity to different spiritual agents.

When Goldie later asserted that Calabar people still listened to the devil and not God--as Adam did--a dialogue ensued which further pointed out how there was no category in Efik religion equivalent to the mission's concept of "devil". During the dialogue, Goldie asserted that people in Calabar listen to the devil--meaning the biblical tempter of Adam. Goldie made the assertion because he identified the worship of Ekpenyong as a deception perpetrated by Satan. On the other hand, George Eyo claimed that many no longer listened to "the devil", only God. He could legitimately make this claim because in the past Efik religion had associated the term "devil" with Ekpenyong; but now reportedly he and others were already overthrowing the worship of this local deity. So, from his perspective, many Efik indeed no longer worshipped or listened to "the devil".

Clearly Efik religion still called for an explanation of evil in terms of a responsible agent,¹ but the biblical notion of Satan had simply not yet been taken up as a category in Efik religion. Until the people of the community added such a being to their religious world-view, the mission's explanation of how

¹ U.F.C.M.R., (1914:361-363).

sin was imputed to humanity due to Adam's decision to follow Satan--would undoubtedly be resisted.

The community was perhaps beginning to clear the way to accept the mission's biblical description of the supernatural being Satan, along with its explanation of sin and suffering. For George Eyo claimed that the worship of Ekpenyong had indeed, been "put away" since the mission had arrived. This indicates that George Eyo no longer perceived the identification of Ekpenyong with the "devil" to be the best account of the source for evil--especially now that a competing theological view of what constituted the Devil and the origin of suffering had been presented. However, it does not appear from this preaching episode that belief in a supernatural being of any type had yet replaced the category of Ekpenyong in the Efik religious system. So at the end of this dialogue, we are left knowing only that George Eyo and other Efik apparently had yet to adopt beliefs in the biblical concepts of the "devil" and original sin. At the same time then, George Eyo, at least, indicated he had incorporated an aspect of the Christian teaching--namely, the mission's call to overthrow Ekpenyong--even prior to "conversion" in terms the mission recognized.

Our evidence suggests then, that in this early period at Creek Town, assessment of Goldie's message, rather than open resistance, by the people was the order of the day.¹ Indeed, we

¹ Our evidence in Creek Town supports Okon's argument that the Efik first listened to the mission preaching before resisting it (1973:201); however, as we shall see in our next section, Okon's statement does not hold equally true for Duke Town, where resistance to mission preaching was registered from the very earliest contact.

have already seen that the time of greatest resistance to the mission's message was comparatively brief--probably being completed in Creek Town by the beginning of 1849.¹ Creek Town leaders were quite active from this time onward in selecting aspects from Christian teaching which would serve the interests of their own attempts at progressive cultural reform. As a consequence, a period of protracted consideration of the mission teaching appears to have been significantly longer than any phase of resistance, particularly in Creek Town. The Efik leaders of Creek Town perhaps realized that the alternative of secularism--where the most pressing concerns of the community were left outside the religious sphere²--would have been even more destructive than the triumph of Christianity.³

6.2.1.4 Selection and Reformulation of Goldie's Teaching, and King Eyo's Preservation of Efik Religion against Secularism

K.K. Nair has argued that the power of secular trading values and materialism weakened aspects of Efik religion before

¹ Okon, loc.cit., also maintained that a sermon on stealing from 9 June 1850, in which people burst into laughter, was the first sign of open resistance to the message; however, our evidence suggests that the resistance phase in Creek Town was probably already largely over by the beginning of 1849.

² Walls (1987:259-260).

³ Harris (1976:285), in which she maintains that according to Nair (1972), the causes of changes in position of slaves, were not the missionaries, but economic changes which occasioned a class struggle. Indeed, Latham (1972:249) argued that tensions arose between those who owed their status to the traditional lineage system, and those who owed their status to their wealth as merchants in the overseas trade.

the missionaries even arrived in Calabar.¹ We can see in the following excerpt a clear example of how materialistic values created a vacuum, which facilitated acceptance of aspects of the Christian message. Moreover, as Nair has also maintained, we can detect in the episode how the religious values of the community were preserved in the face of such materialism, through Eyo accepting and reformulating part of the Christian message, prior to any large-scale movement toward Christianity.² On 12 November 1848, Goldie exhorted the old men listening in Creek Town "to change the customs which they knew to be wrong", particularly the killing of twins:

...mentioning the case, which took place last week at Duke Town, of Egbo Bassy's wife. This gave rise to a vehement discussion between the king and the others present. Eyo informed me that he had been talking to them of a man whose mother belonged to him, and who was now living near Guinea Company. He was a twin, and his mother, on being expelled from town, carried him with her and brought him up. Now he was a grown man, and though the people of Guinea Company will not let him come into their town, if they want trust [credit given to a person to find and deliver palm oil] or have any palaver to settle, they go to him. 'I have been telling them,' continued the king, 'that, if this man wished to come to town to live, I give him place to build house, and them that don't like to live with him can leave the town. It be old fashion, but it be fool fool fashion. When we buy slave, we let them live for town, and we don't ask if their mother make two child for one time; yet we won't let

¹ Harris (1976:286) took note of this line of thought in Nair's work (1972); Nair argued that the decline in traditional belief in the middle nineteenth century was not due to missionary intervention, but to increasing affluence which created a religious vacuum filled partly by new Christian beliefs, partly by an increased belief in witchcraft.

² Ibid., see note directly above.

Calabar man live for town if it be so. But the fashion begin to change. Before time here, when woman make two child, and she be sent to bush two-three days, and then she come live for house back of your house there, and no free man can go to that house; he can't take drink of water from her. Before you come, Calabar man go for that house, and can take drink of water from her.' I said it was otherwise at Duke Town, and asked him if it was true that the children of Egbo Bassy's wife were destroyed. 'Yes,' he said, 'the woman throw them away herself.'¹

The quotation illustrates how the Guinea Company's policy of giving "trust" goods to persons to encourage locating and delivering palm oil, had made it expedient for local people to do business with this twin man. The local people's aversion to the man on religious grounds did not prevent them from going to him for "trust", and commercial profit. The episode suggests that despite resistance to the twin-man living in Creek Town due to cultural taboo, secular values were overtaking some Efik religious views, quite apart from the mission influence. The local religious beliefs among some had been set aside in the interests of securing profit in trade, and therefore materialistic values had been brought squarely into community life. In this process, the Efik were moving towards a type of secularism in which the matters affecting the community most fell further outside the realm of religion than ever before.²

However, King Eyo also attached religious motives to the changing attitudes towards mothers of twins--implying these changes were a sincere response to the presence and message of the mission. Moreover, the change which Eyo claimed was happening

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:131).

² Walls, loc.cit.

served to enhance Efik religious values; for people were incorporating new Christian teaching as a means to resist new social conditions, as well as to address inconsistencies in Efik culture. Indeed, the quotation indicates that Eyo now saw the value of leniency in the case of twin births, in order to restore logical consistency and basic human rights to Efik religious and cultural concerns. He argued that a policy should be enacted to allow twin born slaves the right to live in Creek Town--a privilege denied to both slaves and free twins born in the town. Eyo's policy appears to have been to apply selectively parts of the Christian message which he thought were best able to assist in reforms beneficial to the community. We also see in this episode the reformulation process at work: Eyo reconciled Christian teaching and Efik religious taboo in such a way as to protect local religious values as much as possible--while at the same time preventing the community from total secularisation.

6.2.1.5 Criticism and Disappointment for King Eyo's Response to the Christian Message

The King's approach of selecting aspects of the mission message which reinforced his own reform program, soon provoked harsh criticism. On the same day as the previous discussion, Goldie referred to killing for the dead; Goldie's remarks brought on a telling response from the King concerning the remaining obstacles to mission preaching among the people:

When man don't kill when his father or
brother die, all country man laugh at
him, and he can't stand that. Old time, they
take tie up men at palaver house, chop off
their heads...make all men coming from
country see they do fashion. They laugh at
him and call him fool [if this was not done].

They tell him so too; they say I be mad; I be fool, go take white man's fashion! [Others criticize Eyo saying] You think God for white man be same as God for black man: No, God don't be same for white man and black man: If they see any bad thing come to you, they say, 'You see now that be because you don't do Calabar fashion. Abiidiong be for old time in country, and man live till he get old; now few old man be for country.' 'And that be true; I don't know which way God do that,' continued the king, evidently with some dubiety of mind as to the dealings of Providence, and showing some disappointment that his endeavours to do God's will had not secured his family from the common ills of life....May He plead his own cause in the sight of the heathen, and show whether He or Baal be God.¹

A number of conflicts between Christian teaching and local religion needed to be reconciled before progress towards conversion could be made. First, the widespread Efik insistence that slaves were to be slain to indicate the status and honour of the dead was unyielding.² Another stumbling block was the assumption concerning the existence of a local God--"the Black-Man's God"--in distinction to the universal nature of the God taught by the white missionaries. Eyo had been assailed by leading men in his community for a too uncritical acceptance of "the White-Man's God", as well as for ceasing the killing of slaves to honour the dead. As proof of Eyo's neglect of "country custom" and his adoption of the white man's views, his opponents offered the following argument: under the Abioidong, the people of the area enjoyed longer life than now--the measure of effectiveness for a religious system. Eyo himself was not left unaffected by this theological argument. Allegiance to aspects of

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:131-132).

² U.F.C.M.R., (1914:361-363).

belief within the new religious teaching had not brought the kind of protection and provision the King and the community's religious concerns had taught them to expect as evidence of the power of God. The proof of such an expectation can be seen in Eyo's response to Goldie's preaching from Matthew 11.28-30, on 17 December 1848:

The King gave utterance to his oft repeated desire, 'I wish God change my heart soon,' and asked why God did not turn the hearts of all men at once. I said that God sent his word, and if men will not hear his word, he does not force them to do so, but those who hear his word and pay to him, he will change their hearts....at another part of the address, [the king] proposed a question he often puts, 'Why God don't take away the devil's power one time.' I replied, that God sent his word to fight against the devil. He did not fight against him with sword and gun, but with his word, and if the word of God live in the country, the devil would lose his power.¹

The importance of the "power encounter" to destroy the devil's power and to commend a change of heart--or conversion--was thus decisive for King Eyo. He clearly had begun to adopt on his own initiative the similarities between Christian teaching and Efik religion which he thought promoted the best interests of Creek Town; he focused on biblical instructions concerning God's prohibitions, so that "Calabar come up for country" --or would be consequently blessed.² However, until the beginning of 1849, no "power encounter" had yet convinced the King of Creek Town of the power of the "White-Man's God" to provide health, wealth, and control over hostile spiritual

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:133).

² See Waddell MSS (7739:34).

forces. It is easy to understand how, after having listened to missionary preaching since 1846, the lack of these "blessings", would have left King Eyo somewhat disappointed. It appears that many cultural changes and differences in Christian and Efik religion could have been tolerated and reconciled by the King; yet the missing piece--the "power encounter" which would confirm the supremacy of the mission's biblical and universal God over the local vision of the "Black Man's God" for offering provision and protection in a hostile world--had not come by the time of King Eyo's death in 1858.¹

From around 1849, we can note an increasing coolness in relations between King Eyo and the missionaries.² This signalled a corresponding increase in Eyo's perception of the irreconcilable difference between the blessings that Efik religion required and the mission teaching could provide. It would appear that the lack of a convincing "power encounter", despite the mission's expectation of its arrival,³ was decisive in King Eyo's gradual retrenchment from the mission's teaching.

6.2.2 Later Creek Town Interpretations of Goldie's Teaching

6.2.2.1 Confirmation of Efik Patterns of Belief and Aspiration in Goldie's Christian Teaching, 1849

During the remaining months of Goldie's stay at Creek Town from January to August 1849, the people there were involved in a careful consideration of the relationship of his message to Efik

¹ Christie (MSS:1858).

² Okon (1973:351). Okon maintains that the rift between the King and Waddell at least, had been gradually widening since as early as August 1849.

³ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:131-132).

religious patterns. We have already seen how the lack of a significant "power encounter" before 1849 had discouraged people in Creek Town from recognizing the advantage of rendering allegiance to Jesus Christ as a new power centre. During the remainder of Goldie's stay, on balance, the Efik still perceived in the message of Christianity more conflict than confirmation with the concerns of their religion.

Yet mission teaching at two points bore some resemblance to dimly perceived elements of Efik religious theology, providing evidence of how God had not left the Efik without a witness of grace. One highly developed Christian theological teaching was faintly familiar to a few in Creek Town--the concept of prayer to the trinity. Hugh Goldie wrote in his diary around 25 January 1849:

[Young Eyo] mentioned...traditions, faint and perverted, of the Trinity, which exist among the Calabar people. Some people place three plates on what is called Isu Abasse, a small mound made in the yard of every house with a tree planted in it, at which on a certain day of the week, they pay their devotions to God the Creator; another, Abasse, and the name of the third he had forgot. In their Inkas, [fables] too, he said, they spoke of Ebum Abasse, God the Supreme; Abasse Ebum, the Great God, and Ekpongyong [Ekpenyong], the Son of God.¹

It is significant that while some in Creek Town professed a faint knowledge of a tradition equating Ekpenyong with the Son of God, Goldie had only recently and publically equated Ekpenyong with the devil.²

Another piece of biblical instruction which found

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:134).

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:71).

acceptance was Goldie's presentation of the Parable of the Talents from Matthew 24, on 8 April 1849. Goldie used an illustration equating the biblical talent with the local currency of "coppers"--and by extension, creating a metaphor for the knowledge of God entrusted to humans. King Eyo then took up this metaphor to interpret the parable as a precedent for God's leniency with those who had been given less "coppers" or knowledge of him:

At one part the king, turning to me, and employing an illustration which I had just used, said, 'Well, God will ask much from you past me. He gave you plenty copper past me. He gave you plenty copper for market, he gave me but half. You been know these things from that time you be child; I be old man before they come to me.'¹

The acceptance of this teaching was not solely on the grounds that it offered a larger picture of God's grace than the Efik had thus far suspected was within the Christian message. The parable also also began to offer an answer to a most difficult question emerging at this time: if this Gospel message was necessary for salvation, why did God wait so long to present it to the Efik?² The "Parable of the Talents" demonstrates that responsibility before God is in some way linked to the amount of knowledge given to a people; those having been given only general revelation being less responsible than those also in the possession of the gift of special biblical revelation. Eyo clearly grasped this teaching, saying that "He gave me but half" of the total revelation--or "coppers". Furthermore, he recognized that the

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:171).

² This question was also being raised in Duke Town in November 1850. See U.P.C.M.R., Vol.6, (1851:131).

parable was especially binding on the missionaries: the spiritual (and perhaps even material) wealth given to the missionaries in their youth placed greater expectations on them before God.

6.2.2.2 Remaining Conflict Between Goldie's Christian Preaching and Efik Patterns of Belief, 1849

Despite the fact that some elements of Christian teaching confirmed the Efik religious stance, there were still significant differences in the religions. The first of these was in the crucial area of prayer. It had been assumed from early on, that since Efik religion included prayers to Abasi, that this was a point of contact upon which Christian teaching could build. Yet in practice, while every prayer included mention of Abasi, prayer was rarely directed solely to Abasi without reference to other ndem: lesser divinities or "minus" gods.¹ Moreover, the individual notion of prayer carried by the missionary was at fundamental variance with the Efik predilection for corporate prayer, as Goldie discovered on 4 March 1849:

Many are said to be afraid to pray by themselves, as they would be accused of imprecating evil upon their neighbours, and any sickness or death occurring would be laid to their charge. I assured them that no man could injure another by his prayers, and that if any one prayed for evil upon his neighbour, God would bring that evil upon himself. This idea the king seemed to think very amusing.²

The reason the king thought this idea was amusing, was that "prayer", in conjunction with the use of "medicines" in Efik religious practice functioned quite often as a means to direct divinities to effect harm on enemies.³ God was viewed as condon-

¹ U.F.C.M.R., (1914:415).

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:171).

³ U.F.C.M.R., (1914:176 and 361).

ing such actions.¹ Indeed some sources asserted that the Efik believed no death was ever natural, since medicines and oaths used in secret were often regarded as the effective means to weaken another individual through their "bush" or animal soul counterpart.² In light of such ideas, it is understandable that the Efik view of the power of individual "prayer" for ill would promote mistrust of this new Christian ritual form, especially since God was regarded as quite passive in this matter.³ The central nature of individual prayer in both Goldie's and the mission's teaching on Christian life, would clearly have prevented many Efik from embracing a religion with a ritual so open to abuse, and with such potential for damaging the harmony of the community.

Another topic resisted as incongruous with the central concerns of Efik religion was Goldie's treatment on 18 March 1849 of "the way of salvation"--predicated strongly on the Christian concept of judgment in the afterlife:

Subject of address...Acts 26.30, 31. This being a topic in which my audience felt little interest...no one having any observation to offer till the conclusion, when the king made his usual remark, 'No Calabar man think he live after this world. They care for thing for this world; that be all. Suppose you no come here, no man know about to other world; I don't know myself.'...formerly I would not have proceeded far [on this subject] till the king would have told me they did not care for such things. I endeavoured to show him the importance of a belief in a future state, by saying that if they did not think there was another world where the bad would be punished and the good made happy, they would not care much for what God told them to do now, for

¹ Ibid., 415.

² Ibid., 28-29, 361.

³ Ibid., 415.

they will think it will be all one when they come to die, whether they do good or bad.¹

The resistance of Eyo and the others to a future state was not because they did not believe in a spiritual state for departed souls--they believed in Obio-Ekpo. It is simply that this state was a sort of temporary stopping off station before re-entry into this life as another Efik soul.² The distinction between this and the Christian understanding of heaven was more in degree than in kind. What was truly distinctive about Obio-Ekpo and the Christian "future state" was the Efik understanding which did not link life in that spiritual state with any concept of judgment.³ The Efik perceived that this judgment was central to the Christian message represented by Goldie and the mission; and since the Efik were neither familiar with nor sympathetic to such a concept, the silence referred to indicates King Eyo once again diplomatically passed over the community's views and objections in the matter.

Finally, Goldie's line of argument was that without the notion of judgment, interest in responding to the commandments and behaviour required by God would not be forthcoming. This was not strictly true with the Creek Town Efik. Repeatedly, we have already seen the eagerness of King Eyo and others in beseeching the mission preachers to simply tell them what God required so that they could do it--all quite apart from having any dread of judgment in their religious understanding. They saw compliance with God's will largely in terms of gaining provision for this

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:171).

² U.F.C.M.R., (1913:595).

³ Offiong in Hackett (1987:51).

life, rather than obtaining protection from judgment in the next.

6.2.2.3 Conclusions on the Response to Goldie's Creek Town Preaching, 1848-1849, and 1852-1853

The period of Goldie's leadership at Creek Town from May 1848 to August 1849, and the few references to his preaching there in late 1852 to early 1853, offer some clues to the resistance of the Efik until the first converts were received in 1853.¹ Because of the perceived fundamental differences in Christian and Efik theology we outlined earlier--alongside a lack of any power encounter²--Creek Town remained resistant from 1849 to 1853 to casting their full allegiance to the message preached by the mission.³

After going on furlough in August 1849, Goldie moved back over to Duke Town, serving there alongside William Anderson from 1850-1853.⁴ Unfortunately we possess little documentation of Goldie's teaching and Efik response at Duke Town over that

¹ Christie (MSS:1853).

² Eyo was still looking for the power encounter which would establish the pre-eminence of God over Satan, when he asked Goldie on 19 September 1852: "Why then does God not kill Satan?" See U.P.C.M.R., Vol.8, (1853:246).

³ Ibid.; 5 September 1852; We have discussed in chapter five why these Christian symbols were resisted, and how they were interpreted in terms of Efik world-view.

⁴ Christie (MSS:1849-1853).

period.¹ So in order to get a clear view of the interaction between missionary preaching and Efik religion in Duke Town from 1849 onward, we must move now to examine reactions to the preaching of William Anderson.

6.3 The Interpretation of William Anderson's Preaching in Duke Town, 1849-1885

6.3.1 Duke Town Responses before 1860: The Gospel is Discredited Largely Due to Perceived Differences with Efik Religion

6.3.1.1 Reactions to Anderson's Preaching on The Moral Failing of Humanity Before God

William Anderson arrived in Duke Town on 12 February 1849, and preached there consistently for forty years until he officially retired on 21 April 1889.² Though Waddell had preceded him there with copious amounts of teaching on the Law, Anderson nevertheless felt it expedient to begin his mission by concentrating on the moral failings of humanity before God: so he addressed the themes of the Flood and the Fourth Commandment on keeping the Sabbath.³ The judgment of the flood was depicted by Anderson in mid April 1849, and he connected it with the fire of the day of judgment that awaits the world.⁴ It was strongly resisted by Mr. Young. When Anderson uttered the words, "The

¹ The only example in Duke Town which does not duplicate other records of Efik reactions, involves why there was such resistance to Goldie's preaching there on 17 November 1850. See U.P.C.M.R., Vol.6, (1851:131). When Goldie urged an inhabitant there to attend the preaching of the Gospel, the man asked what was the use of hearing God's word, if it had not procured for him even a shirt; another person inquired on 7 December 1850 about why God delayed sending the Gospel to the people, allowing their heads to be filled with other ideas, if it was necessary for salvation?

² Christie (MSS:1849, 1889).

³ Marwick (1897:208, 210).

⁴ Marwick (1897:208).

world and all that is in it shall be burned up", Mr. Young exclaimed, "It will be long time before that", and the other gentlemen begged him to say to Anderson, "We've got plenty today--it be time for stop."¹

Along these lines, another of the first sermons at Duke Town for which we have any indication of an interpretive response, came during one of Anderson's characteristic uses of illustration in preaching. On 24 June 1849, Anderson addressed King Archibong and other gentlemen in the Duke Town palaver house--as was customary--on the theme of "Death and Judgment" from Hebrews 9.27:

Had the largest and most attentive audience I have seen in Calabar. In speaking of God's appointment of death, I mentioned that the time and circumstances of every man's death should be left to Him. Took the opportunity to speak of the evil of usurping God's place, and killing men, whether free or slave, for nothing, as they do here. I said, 'Suppose King Archibong build a beautiful house far better than Eyamba's palace; suppose he pay for it thousands, thousands of coppers --furnish it with best furniture, tables, sideboards, chairs, sofas, mirrors, etc., etc.--and put in it to live some person he like very much--too much--and suppose some man come and break down that house--smash all the fine furniture, and drive the king's friend who live there into the bush, What would the king think? say? do? I think he vexed too much, and be ready to kill the man who do so.' All assented, and showed that it would be even so. It was easy to apply the supposition. 'Each man's body is the house; God builds that house; God likes man's soul very much; He puts it into the finely fitted-up and furnished house; God likes man's soul very much; He puts it into the finely fitted-up and furnished house--the body, to live there; the man who kills man breaks down the house, and drives the tenant into another world; God is angry with every man who spoils his work by

¹ Ibid.

killing another man.' All seemed struck and impressed by the simile.¹

Anderson drew comparison between the "god-like" authority of the Duke Town chief and God's proprietorship over his creation--especially the soul. Anderson's choice of illustrative material from Efik life was also particularly effective. The comparison between sending a person to the bush to live, with the soul being forced to vacate the body to live in another world, apparently was compelling to Anderson's listeners. This was because the comparison evoked familiar strains about how the individual soul is weakened unto death--and thereby is sent to Obio-Ekpo if proper ikpo is made--through having his or her purchased animal "bush" soul counterpart attacked by an "medicine-man" or Abioidong.² Under these terms, the time and circumstances of an individual's death would not be left up to God even if overt killing were to stop; the Efik were more concerned with the spiritual methods of destroying a person's soul--including the notion that "witches" affect the soul by assuming the form of an animal or household item, inflicting fatal damage by draining the soul.³ With all these spiritual means arrayed against the vulnerable individual soul, the notion of a natural death left to God's appointment--as Anderson had preached--was considered unlikely, yet highly desirable.⁴ The thought that the mission teaching might offer some direction on how to escape the death and judgment they feared most--through spiritual machinations of enemies, "medicine men", and "witches"

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.5, (1850:26).

² U.F.C.M.R., (1914:28-29, 176).

³ Ibid., 223-224.

⁴ Ibid., 361.

--no doubt contributed to the interest Anderson recorded.

Yet Anderson's biblical exposition was geared as an argument against the physical killing of slaves and enemies, using the notions of death and judgment to reinforce submission to this prohibition. It had nothing to say about how to prevent the spiritual weakening of souls to death through Efik religious practice. Since the notion of death and judgment for the Efik was related more to the effects of aggrieved deceased ancestors, and hostile neighbours using spiritual aggression, the scriptural thought that "God appointed to men once to die and after death comes judgment", was largely incongruous. Instead, the enemy and not God, causes death;¹ one dies many times and is reborn in another Efik soul;² and judgment comes more at the hands of the community and dead ancestors than in Obio-Ekpo.³ Indeed, there is little to be feared from death, and perhaps much to be gained.⁴ Anderson's teaching was interesting, but ultimately at variance with prevailing Efik religious notions and interests.

At this stage, the Efik gentlemen of Duke Town were responding not only to new verbal symbols in Anderson's preaching, but to new visual symbols around them as well. In the following excerpt, taken from a sermon about Moses and the Law given by Anderson on 5 August 1849, we learn that Mr. Young saw a discrepancy between the verbal and visual messages being sent by the missionaries and the traders in Calabar:

Subject--'The giving of the Law to Moses and Israel on Mount Sinai.' When explaining the

¹ Ibid., 361, 415.

² U.F.C.M.R., (1913:595-596).

³ Offiong in Hackett (1987:51).

⁴ U.P.C.M.R., (1914:361-362).

second commandment [against making and worshipping idols], observed more than usual interest. The gentlemen had a talk and a laugh...till Mr. Young rather archly said--'We think white men make all them things --we see plenty of them on ships.' He referred to the figure-heads of the vessels. I showed the difference between having such things as ornaments and having them as ju-ju. It was evident Mr. Young mentioned the thing in banter; but I am glad he did so, for I have no doubt that many less intelligent persons consider the figure-head of a ship as its deity.¹

Thus the first volley was fired in the long resistance of the Duke Town gentlemen to the teaching of the missionaries, based on their clear perception of inconsistencies with the behaviour of other white-men; and this was in addition to the inconsistencies the Efik perceived between Anderson's preaching and local religion. Since religion must be coterminous with ethnicity, they likewise assumed that all-white men--including traders--were adherents in some degree to Christianity. So when the traders placed a "wooden deity" on the boats, the Duke Town men logically saw the act as a violation of the second commandment on the part of the traders. For Mr. Young and the others present, this cast doubt upon the consistency of how Christianity was preached and lived for all white men--including the missionaries. Anderson apparently did not pursue the difference between nominal and thorough Christian response at this time. His defence of the figures on the grounds of their being mere ornamentation, only provided precedent for later Duke Town attempts to defend the

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.5, (1850:43).

right to retain visual reminders of their religious past.¹ The end result of his argument was to reinforce the idea that all white men profess Christianity, but keep idols of deities just the same. The conflict between what the missionaries preached and the white men in the community lived, gave the the Duke Town men with a vested interest precisely the evidence they needed to find a reason to resist Christianity.

6.3.1.2 A Positive Response to Anderson's Illustration of Christ as Friend

A large portion of Anderson's early preaching at Duke Town was on the negative prohibitions within the Christian faith--found in such themes as the commandments, the evil and fall of humanity, and death and judgment. As we have seen, the gentlemen of Duke Town were highly resistant to this strain in Anderson's preaching. On the other hand, we get an early hint of the powerful attraction to be found in presenting Christ in positive, even intimate terms, during one of Anderson's sermons in mid- September 1850, at Antika Cobham's yard:

I was much cheered the other Sabbath at one of our meetings...I was speaking of the friendship of Jesus--Haddison interpreting--and brought in as an illustration an anecdote of a man who had three friends. It is well known, so that it would be out of place to take up here. It is given in the seventh of *Todd's Lectures to Children*. At the conclusion, one of Antika's wives, who had been paying marked attention to what was said,

¹ Yellow Duke posed Anderson the question later in 1869, "Why the Scotch traders don't keep the Sabbath, and they are supposed to be so good?" The inconsistency between the United Presbyterians who had stressed so strongly the importance of keeping the Sabbath and their countrymen, was clear for quite some time to the people of Duke Town, at least. See U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2 new series, (1869:463), on 28 February 1869.

declared openly, in her own language, that from that time she chose Jesus for her friend. I am assured that you join me in praying she may keep her wise resolution.¹

The declaration of Antika Cobham's wife to choose Jesus as her friend indicates that acceptance of a significant aspect of Christ's nature was going on quite early, even in Duke Town. It is not clear if such a resolution was limited to the wives of leading men in the community, or if other segments of the society such as the male free-men or the slave population were attracted to this positive portrayal of Christ.

The above incident also proved that various interpretive reformulations of Christ's deity could also take place. In a communal society based on the patrilineal kinship of *ufok*, the primary bond for both slave and free-men within a particular "house", was their role and status based on blood relation, marriage, or allegiance to male descendants of a particular ancestor.² The "house" was the primary social grouping, and this family, grouped with other *ufok* into wards, provided the measure of an individual's identity.³ The Efik also grouped themselves into age sets, which included all men and women born within a one-year period; each member of the same age set addressed another member by the reciprocal intimate term--"*da*".⁴ To call a member of another age set "*da*", would be to presume too much intimacy with the person, and would be taken as an insult.⁵ The *ufok* and age set system clearly functioned to codify and limit

¹ Marwick (1897:246).

² Simmons (1956:13-14).

³ Ibid., 14.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., 14-15.

the nature of intimate friendships within Efik society. The age set and place within the ufok, rather than personal choice, determined the lines and characteristics of friendship; and from this age set came intimate relations which served as the focus for emotional satisfactions, as well as securing provision and protection.

So, in a teaching which portrayed Jesus as friend, it would have been natural to read the meaning of intimacy within the ufok and the age set system into the interpretation of Anderson's sermon. In order to understand Jesus as friend, the Efik could only have interpreted him as da--member of the ufok and age set class. For the Efik, to say one is a friend is to normalize relations and familiarity with a person along the lines of age sets--meaning colleagues have claims on one another. The ufok and age set relationship with its codified obligations of admissible behaviour, proved to be a good "reformulation" of the mission's portrayal of Christ as friend, into Christ as da: He becomes One who has claims on us, and we on Him, within a relationship of familiarity and intimacy. Here we clearly see an example of how mission preaching is reformulated in ways before formal "conversion" occurs. It is precisely this type of reformulation that leads to the understanding necessary for "conversion".

6.3.1.3. Response to Anderson's Further Preaching on Death and Judgment

Some of Anderson's favourite topics for both public and private instruction, as we have already seen, were on death and judgment. On 14 February 1853, Anderson again explored such topics with Mr. Young in a visit concerning the death of Young's

wife; here Anderson noted some of the points Young found objectionable and hard to understand:

On visiting him tonight, I asked him if he knew what was meant by these words, 'life and immortality brought to light by the gospel.' He rather prides himself on his knowledge of English, but confessed that he did not know the meaning of these words. He listened very attentively while I endeavoured to explain them, and to point out the different aspects in which death presents itself to an idol worshipper and to a Christian worshipper, to a believer and to an unbeliever. For some weeks past Mr. Young has read a good deal in the New Testament, and he has generally some passage marked, of which, he asks explanation. The last knotty subject he fell in with was Peter's denial of the Saviour. He could not understand that at all till it was explained to him.¹

Anderson's view implicitly asserted that true life began after death with a spiritual existence in heaven; and this was at variance with the Efik notion that the spiritual world impinged upon this world, investing it with cosmic relevance.² Since Obio-Ekpo was the direct counterpart of the Calabar village,³ this world rather than the next was the primary locus of life, meaning, and relevance. Second, the concept of eternal immortality in a Christian heaven ran counter to the Efik view that the soul's entry into Obio-Ekpo was a temporary stop-over before returning to the focus of life: the Efik community in this earthly life.⁴ Such fundamental differences contributed to Mr. Young's confession that he did not readily understand these words of comfort.

At this time, February 1853, the Duke Town gentlemen were

¹ Marwick (1897:274).

² U.F.C.M.R., (1913:595-596), (1914:361-363).

³ U.F.C.M.R., (1913:595).

⁴ Ibid.

responding primarily to the perceived incompatibility between their religious view of the world and the new Christian teaching. Moreover, the interest of the Duke Town leadership was also occasionally focused upon apparent inconsistencies between mission preaching and the practices of white-men in the region. In contrast, over at Creek Town a number of young people and a few adults were beginning to focus on the *compatibilities* of Christianity with their patterns of belief; while at the same time attempting to reconcile the perceived differences between local religion and the missionary preaching. Thus it appears that the stage of protracted consideration in Duke Town was significantly longer than in Creek Town.

6.3.2 Duke Town Reactions to Anderson's Preaching after 1860

6.3.2.1 Shifts in Resistance: Duke Town Gentleman Find Anderson's Preaching a Confirmation of Local Religion

By around 1860, the defence of the Duke Town leaders to Anderson's message had shifted. It became common from that time to discredit the novelty of the message by demonstrating how certain elements of Christian teaching were in fact compatible with local religious and cultural practice. Indeed, we can see an example here of how Efik leaders interpreted aspects of the Christian message as a confirmation of the very cultural practices the missionaries were attempting to oppose. On 2 December 1860, Anderson wrote:

In the a.m. service today, took occasion to condemn the custom of substitutionary punishment, and made the young people proclaiming God's law on the subject in the two texts...[Deut.24.16, Ezek.18.20]. Mr.

Hogan asked leave to express his views on the matter, which he did thus--'We no think it wrong for one man to die for another. It just be what Jesus Christ do. He come to this world, die for all we sins; he die to save we life. So when Calabar man die for his master, it be same as Jesus Christ do.'

In reply, I explained that, before anyone could die as a substitute, there must be two things--1.The will; 2.the power, etc. An addition occurs to me now which did not occur to me at the moment, but which I shall not lose sight of: God did not kill slaves instead of his Son; Christ asked no substitute to die for him. The Father gave his Son, the Son gave himself to die in the room of his slaves. Will Calabar men act thus?¹

Mr. Hogan used Christ's substitutionary atonement here to justify punishing substitute slaves. Although Anderson felt compelled to counter this view, Hogan's reading of Christ's atonement was not a simple distortion. It was in fact a type of reformulation, quite understandable in Mr. Hogan's frame of reference. The reformulation involved comparing the unfamiliar concept of atonement with the familiar practice of killing slaves as a substitute for the penalties of free-men. The correspondence was not however, exact, as Anderson laboured to demonstrate. Because Hogan placed the idea of atonement into equivalence with the category of substitutionary punishment, he was able to justify the killing of slaves. Nevertheless, by identifying Christ's atonement with the death of slaves to exonerate offences of the free-men, Hogan also read various associations into the theological concept of Christ's atonement that were not present in Anderson's understanding.

Anderson moved to restore the precise meaning of Christian atonement in his own mind. By showing that Christian

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.16, (1861:42).

substitutionary atonement required the satisfaction of two conditions--the will to die and the power to atone--Anderson distinguished between Christ who fulfilled these conditions, and those killers of slaves who do not satisfy them. Under the terms Anderson chose, Efik cultic practice was shown to be an inadequate analogy for Christian atonement. In this way, Anderson also clearly denied the argument used by the Efik to resist Christian teaching on the ground of its similarity with religious and cultural practices.

A number of other arguments were recorded by Anderson which were employed to strengthen his case, such as: God did not kill slaves but his precious Son, and Christ did not ask a slave to die in his place. These ideas were also presented to counter the analogy of Christian atonement with substitutionary punishment in Efik culture. It is not clear from our sources, however, if Hogan himself was convinced.

6.3.2.2 The Reformulation of Anderson's Preaching by Duke Town Leaders Prior to Conversion: Towards Appreciation of the Christian Message

In contrast to the incident described above, another type of reformulation occurred two years later. A number of Duke Town Efik began to focus on compatibilities between the Christian message and Efik religion--but this time in order better to appreciate and relate the new teaching to the concerns of the community. The following quotation represents a sincere attempt by King Archibong to understand how the message that Anderson preached was related to the history of his people--even if Archibong was himself not yet ready to convert. It demonstrates

the importance of reformulating aspects of the Christian message in terms of local religious ideas, in order to pave the way for later conversion. The subject of the address was prompted by the burning down of the late King Duke's premises on 12 April 1862.¹ As a result of the fire, on 20 April Anderson felt called upon to remind King Archibong of the proper trust that should be placed in God as the sole agent of provision and protection:

Spoke seriously today to King A., after public service was over, about the wickedness and foolishness of trusting to anything, save God Himself, as a protection from fire, famine, sickness, or any other evil. He pleaded that the worship of, or rather by, Ndem Efik had been taught by God to the fathers of the Calabar people, just as he had taught the fathers of us white men to worship God in bible fashion. I endeavoured to show him that there is but one Father of all, one Mediator for all, and one book, or law for all; and that whoever disregards this one Mediator and this one Book is a rebel against God.²

While on the surface Archibong appeared to argue the cultural relativist position of religion, on a deeper level he helpfully drew attention to the fact that both the missionaries and the Efik trust in God only through mediators. The Efik worshipped God through the mediatorship of the ndem (as the quotation makes clear, the Efik were involved in "worship by" and not "of" the Ndem). The missionaries also worshipped God through a mediator, but by "the one Mediator" Christ. Archibong was arguing for a true compatibility concerning both religious system's use of mediatorship. Again, Anderson thought it expedient

¹ Christie (MSS:1862).

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.17, (1862:137).

to counter Archibong by distinguishing between the Efik and Christian religious categories of mediatorship: for the Efik, God is worshipped through various ndem; in Christianity, God has only one mediator in Christ. Anderson made the distinction by appealing to the one Father of all and the one mediator; but his arguments only confirmed the Efik view of the need for trusting in God through the agency of a mediator in the first place. A true compatibility in the structure of Christian and Efik theology could now be seen--although it was clearly lost upon Anderson. The very fact that Duke Town religion recognized the need for spiritual mediators in order to approach God in worship, could only make it easier in the future for people there to trust in Christ and the Holy Spirit as the means to benefit from knowing God.

During the 1870s, a considerable response to the Christian message slowly began to occur at Duke Town in terms of new communicant members in the church.¹ This "conversion" process only became possible once people in Duke Town regarded the compatibility between the categories of Christianity and Efik religion as more significant than their incompatibility. This process was nonetheless a relatively slow one.² Once it was apparent to the leaders in Duke Town that superior protection and provision was indeed found in trusting

¹ See Appendices I and II for statistical graphs. The number of communicant members in the Duke Town church only grew from 46 (32 Efik) in 1870 to 102 (77 Efik) in 1880.

² It appeared so slow to the Foreign Mission Committee of the United Presbyterian Church in the 1870s, that they asked Anderson to give an explanation for the lack of progress in Duke Town. Johnston (1988:27).

God through "Bible fashion", then conversions followed on gradually, bringing people into the membership of the mission Church.

It was most significant, even to Anderson's mind, that the formal growth of the church which occurred in the Cross River basin during the 1870s, coincided with an increase in the activity of Efik evangelists. Anderson reported in November 1872 that the most attentive response to the Christian message in both Duke Town and elsewhere, was given to the considerable number of Efik evangelists:

In the interior stations, also, we find congregation after congregation listening attentively, to whom? To their fellow country-men, who have been brought to the knowledge and belief of the truth....These native evangelists proclaim the Gospel of Christ, speak about the death of Jesus, a saviour to all nations and preach in their own mother tongues.¹

The importance of local preachers in the growth which the Duke Town Church experienced during the 1870s is attested to by Anderson's report of 1878; in this report he filed a letter from an local evangelist James Ballantyne, describing the teaching he presented in the Sabbath meetings held each week in North Henshaw Town (Duke Town):

I have read and explained in the Old Testament during the year from the history of Joseph to the reign of King David; and in the New Testament in the life of our Lord, i.e., his miracles and parables. I feel great happiness in my work.²

Throughout the 1870s then, we can see Anderson's interest in

¹ See U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4 new series, (1872:320).

² U.P.C.M.R., Vol.7 new series, (1879:555).

documenting his own preaching dialogue with the Efik to be diminishing. Instead Anderson was focusing on the broader teaching of entire biblical books to nourish his new flock. He was now preaching primarily to the already converted, and the responsibility for spreading the Christian message in the Cross River region increasingly fell to the local evangelists such as James Ballantyne, many of them nameless. Unfortunately we do not possess the sources to follow our theme of Efik response in Duke Town any further, and so it is here that our story must end.

6.4 Christian Response in the Wider Regions of the Cross River Basin

6.4.1 Alexander Ross among the Ekoi

Away from the urban areas, other Scottish preachers were evangelising in the upper reaches of the Cross River around 1878. One of these was Alexander Ross, who preached briefly among the Ekoi people at Esumbat and Oban. There the people responded most favourably when Ross presented the idea of "a Redeemer of men from the effects of sin", and felt the doctrine was "a good thing."¹ Reacting to a question regarding the Christian's remedy for what the mission termed "witches", Ross replied with a statement which sent a double meaning to the Ekoi: "Christians don't believe in them, and when they [the people of Oban] believe the gospel, witches will cease to trouble them."² Later in December 1878 in the Uruanie Ekpe area, Ross was also

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.8 new series, (1879:386-387).

² Ibid., 387. Such a line is very reminiscent of a politician who is accused of some indiscretion and responds in some such double-talk: "This did not happen, but if it did, it is not as bad as it seems."

confronted with the question, "Who caused this man's sickness, himself or others?" Ross's reply did not assume the possibility implied in the question--namely that another individual could have been responsible through the use of medicine or other religious means:

If he was given to rum, himself, and if not, God sent it to him for reasons unknown to us, and you should believe that no medicine can cure his sickness unless God wills it.¹

Here Ross did not take into account that "medicine" could be used to cause the curse, rather than the cure.² If this response to a legitimate question is indicative of the way Ross and other missionaries represented the Gospel in the wider Cross River in 1878, the Ekoi and other up-river groups may have been left with the impression that Christianity only marginally addressed such central religious concerns as "witchcraft" and sickness.

Incidents like this demonstrate that in the up-river areas around 1880, the people were still assessing the teaching of Christianity on its capacity to answer the problems of life as defined in the religious world-view.

6.4.2 Samuel Edgerly, Jr. and Prince Eyamba Address Objections to Christian Teaching in Umon

Next we have an example from 1880 of how the Gospel was being reformulated even as it was being presented by Efik evangelists up-river. In fact, this reformulation was made in

¹ Ibid., 712.

² See U.F.C.M.R., (1913:595), in which Macgregor states that his ethnography had been collected and submitted to informants for feedback from areas throughout the Eastern Province of Southern Nigeria. See also for reference on "medicine" used to harm others U.F.C.M.R., (1914:28, 223-224).

order to increase the likelihood that Christian teaching could be both perceived and received as valuable in terms of local concerns. In December 1880, Samuel Edgerly, Jr., along with Prince Eyamba, made a trip to Umon in which certain objections to the word of God were soon registered:

God's word causes twin mothers to enter town,
God's word comes, they will have to destroy
war-charms, and then their enemies will
destroy them. Prince Eyamba responds
worthily to their objections--God's word is
taught, not forced, and it brings brotherhood,
and destroys war.' Edgerly said: ' [I]
supplemented the answer...spoke about God's
love to man in the death of Christ, and the
great value of man's soul, and the great joy
in store for those who love Christ.' The
response, 'give us God's word!'¹

Edgerly could not let the moment pass without letting his thoughts on the subject be known. Nevertheless, his selection of themes showed a sensitivity to the needs of a community in which war had rendered human life cheap. Themes such as the love of God, the value of the soul, and the joy of loving Christ, also reinforce our earlier view that Edgerly's preaching was developing away from the sermons of the older pioneers so heavily focused on atonement, the Law, and duty.²

More interesting is Prince Eyamba's approach to the people's objections. The strongest of these cultural objections --resisting the opposition in Christian teaching to twin-murder

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.2, 2nd new series, (1881:182).

² See U.P.C.M.R, Vol.2, 2nd new series, (1881:372), where the themes of friendship, love, and God in Christ (incarnation) were found to receive a very good response in Akunakuna. The movement of Edgerly's preaching increasingly after 1880 toward the love of God and incarnation--away from Law and atonement--also mirrors such theological shifts in the Scottish evangelical sermon during the same period. See chapter three and Enright (1968).

and war-charms--were minimized and countered by Eyamba. He did this by focusing instead on the power of the Gospel to supply needs the local religious beliefs had been hitherto unable to secure. Eyamba focused his attention away from the intractable problem of twin-murder, and addressed his counter to the root of the issue about the war-charm: the people will not need war-charms if the Gospel dispels the need for war. The Prince stressed therefore how God's word could be applied to provide brotherhood and peace. It could thereby bring about the desired cessation of hostilities that adherence to their religious beliefs had failed to supply. Thus, Eyamba had reformulated the Gospel as he presented it--by addressing different needs to those Edgerly had addressed. It is no wonder the people of Umon cried, as a consequence, "Give us God's word!"

6.4.3 Mary Slessor and the Magic Lantern in Abakpa

Even as late as 1886, the theological message presented up-river, by the Scottish missionaries at least, was only just beginning to be sensitive to the local concerns of people there. A case in point can be found in the teaching of Mary Slessor, the celebrated "White Queen of Okoyong", who inaugurated the mission's work among the Okoyong in 1888.¹ While Slessor's significance looms large for the Calabar mission, her primary contribution lay in her radical solidarity with the people she served, along with her work as a judge in local affairs. As for her teaching and preaching, there is unfortunately scant

¹ Christie (MSS:1888); Livingstone (1916), 6th ed.

documentation.¹

One documented instance we do possess occurred in 1886. While intinerating in Abakpa, Slessor demonstrated an emerging emphasis on the Gospel of love through a magic lantern presentation of the life and death of Christ. We get an

¹ In 1990 some new material documenting Slessor's preaching came to reside in the library of New College, University of Edinburgh. It came from the papers of Donald M. McFarlan who wrote *Calabar: The Church of Scotland Mission* (1946) in two editions, and had been lodged in the Glasgow University Archives. The papers include a number of Slessor's letters and memoirs written by those close to her. Included in this material is a reference to her first and last sermon in Creek Town and Use respectively, "about the healing of the man at the pool among a crowd of impotent folk." This fundamental theme in Slessor's preaching was confirmed in a letter by her friend Thomas Hart, one-time principal of the Hope Waddell Institute, who remembered visiting Slessor at Odoro, Ikpe, in July 1914, on what was possibly the last Sunday evening service in which she attended. In another letter to Thomas Hart during his furlough sometime in 1913, Slessor wrote: "I have gone through the Pauline Epistles slowly and thoroughly this year, and oh!....Language is strained to its utmost capacity and beyond it, to express the grandeur of this Salvation and Gospel committed to our hands. Yesterday and to-day I have been feasting luxuriously in the first part of 4 Chap. of Ephesians, to the 16 verse....But you are in the land of preaching, happy man!! so don't need my 'Prentice hand' at it." See Christie (MSS:1912, 1913) for evidence of Hart's furlough. Clearly Slessor did not see herself in the category of the great Scottish preachers, either at home or abroad. The letter is also instructive in that it shows, as no other of our sources, how Slessor treated entire biblical books in serial fashion, at least during the period immediately before her death. Apart from these references, it remains difficult to piece together from Scottish primary sources (such as Slessor's letters in the Dundee Public Library, D52 SLE, D.21762, which cover only the period from 1 January 1908-10 March 1910) a clear picture of her preaching, much less any local response. Exceptions to this are few and are extremely brief: See U.P.C.M.R., Vol.6 (1877:378), Vol.7 (1879:688-690), Vol.10 (1889:75). Moreover, what remains of Slessor's papers in Calabar have been discounted by Dan Slessor as of any historical value. See Bibliographical reference to Slessor's sources in Latham (1973:167).

interesting glimpse of the Abakpa people's response to both the technology and the teaching on offer:

Some of the scenes in Christ's life I put aside as too sacred for such an assemblage to look on, but as soon as we began the Bible pictures, and they got a hint that they were something in connection with God...we got as perfect attention from that heathen crowd as ever Mr. Drysdale got from a Scotch audience....When we got near to the death of Jesus, I told them that I had laid aside the rest of the pictures, as only reverent and loving eyes might see His sorrows. They begged to see them...we put in the "crucifixion" and "The descent from the cross"...There was perfect silence (ignorant heathen that they were even), only broken by exclamations of sorrow and sympathy, and we tried to impress on them the great love they were being offered in the gospel.¹

Slessor entered into the lantern lesson with the intention to prevent sacred scenes from reaching irreverent eyes. However, Slessor's instinctive psychological sensitivity to the people allowed the needs and entreaties of her audience to alter the teaching plan. The people viewed the scenes, and markedly responded. The entire incident illustrates that Slessor was willing to allow the people of Abakpa to contribute to the content of her teaching at least in a limited fashion. She also let her Scottish audience know that the "heathen" of Abakpa were up to their standards as listeners.

The people of Abakpa may well have been responding to the power of the medium as much as the message. Nevertheless, we see that the scene of Christ's death apparently provoked a genuinely

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.6. 2nd new series, (1886:265).

empathetic response from the people.¹ Slessor's presentation of Christ's death in connection with the love of God, must have rendered the notion of God's love most compelling, judging by the exclamations of sorrow and sympathy recorded. Slessor emphasised God's love simply, without any reference to mechanical explanations of the atonement. This, coupled with the small gesture of allowing dignity in human relationships to overturn more abstract notions of propriety, hinted that more contextually relevant representations of the Gospel were beginning to emerge up-river around 1886.²

6.4.4 James Luke and the People of Mbrukem in Dialogue

The best example of how new approaches of representing the Gospel were emerging up-river--promoting favourable early responses--can be found in the preaching of James Luke. In January 1890, Luke journeyed up-river to the rapids, with the stated aim of setting "to rights the wronged reputation of the people, and also to try and tell them that which, if attended to,

¹ The fact that the people were freely responding to the scenes of crucifixion, and not the medium of slide presentation, can be seen in the lack of response to theological slides in Samuel Edgerly, Jr.'s presentation in December 1882. In response to the lantern show, Edgerly reported that "one kroomen expressed what was no doubt the general statement--I liked them pigs best."; U.P.C.M.R., Vol.3, 2nd new series, (1883:274). The variety of response among the kroomen and the people of Abakpa suggests that compatibility of the images to the concerns of local religious and cultural issues had more to do than the medium itself in provoking response.

² It does appear that Slessor put in a request for different sets of magic lantern slide themes, presumably to provide more appropriate, varied, or interesting subject matter for the people she served. See U.P.C.M.R., Vol.6, 2nd new series, (1886:265).

would put them right at once and altogether, 'the story of Jesus and His love.'¹ On reaching the furthest town, Adyoso of the Mbrukem people, Luke described his evangelistic approach and the response registered among the Mbrukem:

Our first words were meant carefully to impress the people that we had nothing at all to do with trade, but that we were messengers from the One living and true God, Creator and Father of all. Then after a little talk with the chief, we asked him to call his people to hear God's message...We followed no set plan in addressing the people...Most frequently we threw their evil and vile conceptions of a god into the shade by telling them of the great Father of Love who wanted to make them all His children. To convince of sin, we spoke of how man had fallen, and told of Jesus the Saviour. They often asked us what sins they had committed. Immediately we took them to the law, where confessedly they stood condemned. The people knew the law, and were very clear about it when another town or tribe had broken it. All professed to know of God as the Creator. Some had hazy ideas of a future state; but all were in densest ignorance of Jesus or salvation. We always tried to leave with them the thought that Jesus, who died to redeem them, was their ever-present and all-powerful Friend.

How was our message received? Mostly in silence. But we knew that many an earnest conversation would be heard, with the message of God as the subject. Not infrequently did discussions arise over the words, 'Thou shalt not kill.'...It was here at this point, then, that questions were asked, because it was just here where serious and solemn problems had been pressing down those poor wretched people all their lives. And as soon as they saw a different class of men, questions of life and death were at once submitted and opinions asked. Sometimes it was war. Why does such and such a town wage war with us, and decapitate our men? At Okuride...the pressing question was Ifot, a devil from the pit, which is said to enter a man and impell him to go and commit murder. We were asked if a man should obey this voice. As you may suppose, we were very

¹ Christie (MSS:1890); U.P.C.M.R., Vol.11, 2nd new series, (1890:157).

firm here, yet gentle withal, asking them why they should not call anger and envy their proper names? Was it not the less successful men that struck at the man who prospered? ...We pointed them to the law forbidding murder, and to that other, just as binding, if gentler, that commanded them to love their neighbours as themselves. And we tried to show them that Jesus would help them if they cried to Him....At this same town the chief came into our temporary hut of a home and said, 'Your word and your work are good. Go forward; and if any say that evil things are before you, heed them not,--go forward.'¹

As we see in Luke's initial approach to the chief, the first priority was to establish the credibility of the messenger, in order to secure a hearing for the message.² A second important feature in Luke's approach was his flexibility. The fact that no set theological agenda was followed, allowed for dialogue to emerge at the very beginning of the interaction; this was largely in distinction to the methods of the early pioneers of the Calabar mission.

To be sure, there are aspects of Luke's preaching that harked back to the pioneers' emphasis on convincing people of their guilt under the Law, and judging local views of God "evil" and "vile". Yet a sharp break with the past had nonetheless been made. Luke's stated aim was to restore a people's reputation and dignity--wishing to empower rather than weaken. Luke preached first on the love of God, rather than the Law to reinforce this agenda. Furthermore, a catalogue of cultural and religious evils

¹ U.P.C.M.R., Vol.11, 2nd new series, (1890:160).

² Hesselgrave (1978:157) maintains that this type of approach is often necessary in societies who evaluate and respond to a message in proportion to the trustworthiness of the messenger; he argues that this in contrast to North American and Western European societies which tend to have a bias towards verifying truth independent of any messenger.

was neither attacked, nor even cited. Rather, older customs and concepts were contrasted with the positive principles of God's love. This placed the burden for criticism of evil practices on the people themselves, and thereby allowed them the freedom to choose allegiance appropriately. The concepts of sin and guilt before the Law were presented, but only in so far as it demonstrated the need for, and the nature of, the Loving Saviour. The lasting impression was not one of a mechanical atonement, but on the identification and incarnation of Jesus as "the ever-present and all powerful Friend."

In the response to Luke's evangelism, we see that this incident illustrates the early attempts by the Mbrukem people to gauge the relevance of the message by assessing how compatible it was to their own religious principles and practice. Elements in the Christian message immediately recognized as compatible and relevant to their patterns of belief were: the Law, the fact that their neighbours often broke the law, the notion of God as a Creator. Somewhat less compatible was Luke's treatment of life after death--due to the people's "hazy notion of the future state." We can also see other concepts in the Christian message at variance with Mbrukem people's religious views--for which no parallel categories existed: prohibitions against killing, the notion of sin, the person of Christ, and the need for salvation. Interestingly enough these points were not pursued during the dialogue, but were simply disregarded on this occasion. The relevance of the Christian message to pressing cultural and religious concerns such as war and witchcraft was the focus of Mbrukem questioning. These were plainly questions

for which the local religious culture had thus far provided unsatisfactory answers. The fact that Luke allowed the people to set the agenda in dialogue through their queries, was responsible for revealing on which issues the people were most open to a Christian explanation. In replying to these questions, Luke combined pragmatism with biblical prohibitions and prescriptions --most notably in pointing to the Law and the sin of murder. Even more significantly, Luke declared gently that the perfect law of "loving thy neighbour as thyself" was a more perfect motive against sin--in distinction from earlier periods of Calabar mission preaching. He quickly followed up such sentiments by pointing to a loving Saviour as a present help, provision, and protection from harm.

The results of the dialogue were clear. The chief of Adyoso proclaimed that the mission's word and work were good. This early favourable assessment of the mission message, in contrast to the characteristic caution of the urban Calabar areas, was significant. It argues strongly for the effectiveness of Luke's dialogical method of allowing the people of Adyoso to set the agenda by discussing their issues in pointed queries. It was precisely these queries which pointed the proclamation towards areas of religious concern more adequately than in previous interactions--demonstrating that the Christian message did indeed address crucial unanswered problems of culture. Furthermore, Luke attempted to demonstrate how the theme of the love of God and neighbour provided the most constructive approach to dysfunctions in both the individual and the society. So as this incident suggests, by 1890, the mission in its up-river

proclamation had begun to be considerably more effective in introducing biblical teaching into the concrete concerns of their listeners.

6.5 Conclusions

In this chapter, we have examined the interaction between the representation and the response to the Christian message in Hugh Goldie's work at Creek Town, William Anderson's work at Duke Town, and other missionaries up-river. We have discovered, as we did in our examination of the response to Waddell's preaching, a number of stages of response governed by the perceived compatibility between the symbols of the Christian message and the principles and practices of local Efik belief patterns. We have seen that the initial stage of Efik response--protracted consideration--involved interpreting Christianity in terms of local categories of belief. In this stage, the Efik of Creek Town primarily focused on apparent continuities between the respective religious traditions to promote a measure of understanding for the Christian message. This tendency to concentrate on the compatibility between Christianity and Efik religion in Creek Town initially made the people there favourably inclined toward Christian preaching. In Duke Town by contrast, early reactions centred on perceived conflicts between the Christian message preached there and local religious concerns. This protracted consideration of Christian preaching was characterized by more open resistance. As the interaction process continued, differences in religious categories increasingly became apparent in Creek Town, which prompted a corresponding resistance to the

message of Christianity. In Duke Town after 1860, leading men adopted a new stance which argued that compatibility between Christianity and their own religious patterns of belief, simply confirmed Duke Town's religious principles and practices. In both Creek and Duke Town, the Christian message was most resisted when incompatibilities were perceived to be at their greatest. Such resistance was comparatively brief at Creek Town, being largely over by 1849. Likewise resistance was fairly brief up-river. However, it was much more prolonged in Duke Town, with receptions only beginning slowly throughout the 1870s.

We took note of how Nair suggested that a type of secularism had developed by the mid-point of the nineteenth century, even before the advent of mission preaching in Calabar, in which the matters affecting the community were seen to fall further outside the province of religion than ever before. Our evidence also tends to support Nair's argument that tensions set up by the new Christian symbols in conjunction with secular trading practices and values--caused the weakening of certain aspects of local religion, as well as a preservation of other beliefs.

The Efik began to recognize that a lack of corresponding categories within their world-view left them incapable of responding to anomalies from within their culture as well as the challenges of interaction with the values of traders and missionaries. As a result, they attempted to reconcile the incompatibilities between their position and what they perceived to be a single challenge: the values of Christianity and commerce. As a result certain symbols fell out of currency in Efik patterns of belief, in order to make place first for the new

economic challenges of river trading--and then for elements of the new Christian teaching. However, the core values, notions of power, and the religious concerns of the Efik remained largely intact. Incompatibilities between the new Christian teaching then, began to be reconciled through reformulation, even before reception of the Gospel occurred in the form of conversion and church membership.

We have argued that reception of missionary preaching occurred first in the Christian elements compatible with Efik local religion--certainly before "conversion" was recognized by the missionaries to have taken place. However, the people did not present themselves formally for baptism and church membership until the end of the stage in which incompatibilities were reconciled. At this terminal point, then, more compatibility than incompatibility was perceived by the Efik to exist between Christianity and Efik beliefs. Indeed, the exposure to commercial trading values and Christianity exposed anomalies in the Efik ways of explaining the world as well. Once these unanswered cultural questions were satisfactorily met by Christian teaching --often requiring a "power encounter" sufficient to commend the teaching--the desire to present for church membership often began to follow. However, as we have seen, many "receptions" of select aspects of Christian teaching had necessarily already occurred to make this "conversion" possible.

Soon after the point of "conversion", much further reception and reformulation of Christian teaching into local religious categories was required. However, this stage of interaction is not so easy to demonstrate, due to a lack of

documentation by Goldie and Anderson once the Bible was published in Efik and more people converted. Indeed, the objections and dialogue of the Efik leaders with the mission preachers were no longer recorded, as Goldie and Anderson were increasingly preaching to the already converted.

It is clear enough from the records we do possess, that both the reception and reformulation of mission teaching ran along channels of response provided by resilient Efik religious and cultural concerns. The relating of biblical teaching to relevant areas of local culture was done by the Efik and other people groups themselves. This points to why the early selection and training of local teachers and evangelists was paramount; for the emergence of a widespread indigenous Christianity in the Cross River basin came only when the initiative and responsibility for articulating that Christian message resided with local people, and not expatriate mission preachers.

In the last two chapters therefore, we have discovered a new appreciation for the responsibility of the Efik themselves in the reformulation and reception of the Gospel: they were important agents both previous to their "conversion" and after their response, as they sought to "re-represent" the Gospel to the people of the Cross River region. On the eve of the Colonial "pacification" of the Cross River area, Christianity down-river already showed signs of having been reformulated both prior and subsequent to its formal acceptance. Likewise, we discovered that up-river during the comparatively briefer stage of protracted consideration--when the compatibility of religious traditions was being assessed--the Gospel was being proclaimed in a reformulated

fashion by both local and missionary evangelists. In fact, this reformulated gospel was "re-represented" up-river more than had been done so down-river at Creek and Duke Town in the corresponding pioneer period.

The reformulation and "re-representation" process, done by many nameless local evangelists, proved to be an underlying condition which made it possible for the colonial conquest of the region to spark off ready and even wider spread conversion--especially up-river--after the turn of the twentieth-century. This of course, foreshadowed the future direction of missionary preaching in the area after 1900; for the expansion of the mission under colonial encouragement made it necessary for missionaries to be transformed from preachers into administrators under the District Missionary scheme. This soon left the field of teaching and preaching to Efik and other local Christian leaders, as they struggled to nourish the exponential growth of young churches across the vast areas of the Cross River basin overseen after 1900 by the United Free Church of Scotland.

Summary Conclusions

Our aim in this thesis has been to establish from the best available source documents the origins and development of mission preaching in the Scottish Calabar mission. In addition, we have sought to draw attention to how resilient Efik local religion contributed to the rejection, reception, reformulation and ultimately the "re-representation" of Christian teaching in the Cross River region. Our analysis of sources has revealed a striking diversity in the form and content of mission preaching in the Cross River region. We have discovered that this diversity--in connection with an early commitment to systematic and comprehensive teaching through the books of the vernacular bible--yielded a reasonably balanced representation of the Christian message. While the preaching of certain members in the mission might be vulnerable to various criticisms, its very diversity suggests that criticism of nineteenth century mission preaching can no longer proceed--as it often has in the past--on simplistic and overdrawn stereotypes. Now let us conclude by assessing in broad terms the nature and role of United Presbyterian Christian proclamation as it interacted with Efik religion and culture from 1846-1900.

During the pioneer period of 1846-1858, Waddell and the other missionaries faced many challenges from various religious customs which they felt chaffed and prevented the reception of the full meaning of their teaching. As we have discovered, the United Presbyterian missionaries directed their mission preaching to areas of perceived social dysfunction early after their arrival. Nevertheless they conceived and addressed their

denunciations in terms of providing an environment which would encourage both personal and communal salvation. No significant penetration into the interior occurred before the 1880s, partly due to the mission's intention to affect social change in the urban centres of Calabar before embarking upon further expansion.

We have also demonstrated how the indigenous response from 1846-1858 was restricted largely to controlled social change. The mission's limited personnel and the control held by the Efik meant that it had to strive for indirect influence in the society through more direct influences in the lives of individuals--rather than expecting revolutionary change through bullying and legislation. Our findings also weaken various inconsistently argued notions by Nair, however, that Eyo refused to yield to social change at all. The evidence cited, moreover, overturns Taylor's assertions that the Presbyterians were generally more interested in education and social change than evangelism. Likewise, we have presented evidence to balance Johnston's view that the prophetic tradition was stressed to the exclusion of teaching about the character of God. Indeed, during the phase immediately after the mission entered Calabar, preaching did strongly emphasise judgment against local customs and religious beliefs; furthermore preaching called for change in the social configurations giving rise to various religious beliefs. Yet this was never at the total expense of teaching about the character of God. Moreover, that teaching was concentrated upon convincing the Efik of their status as sinners and lawbreakers before God. As initial victories began to be registered in favour of social change--from the late 1840s and peaking in

1850-1--the way was cleared for a corresponding increase in preaching on more christological and soteriological themes. This pattern contradicts vague notions held by Nair and Taylor that social reform only began in Calabar in 1851. It is clear that the mission harmonized its social, economic, moral, and education policies with its evangelism. The mission called for new social structures to create an environment capable of sustaining the spread of its evangelistic message. Correspondingly, the mission derived and presented norms for a new society as an appropriate Efik response to the nature of God, and God's revelation in Christ.

Vigorous attempts at social change were tried in the late 1840s and early 1850s to set the foundation for an emerging church. With that foundation in place, it was felt that the Efik would be less likely to resist preaching on the grace of Jesus Christ that came in the next decade. Moreover, Eyo and other Efik leaders appeared to lobby for more teaching which consisted of prohibitions and prescriptions for the proper living of the Christian life. At least until the latter part of the 1850s the people of Calabar were prone to interpret mission teaching as a new type of legalism--a vindication for the idea of taboo. Especially for the Creek Town context, we have discovered how reception of Christian proclamation, particularly from 1846-1858, was initially limited to theological elements deemed most compatible with Efik religious tradition. Signs that missionaries began to be aware of elements within Efik local religion can be traced also from around 1851. This somewhat ameliorated a tendency for them to disparage all Efik culture. Yet the appreciation of

local religion as an important element in assisting the Efik to interpret Christianity did not occur until well past this pioneer period. We have seen evidence that the mission viewed early Efik interpretations of Christianity as foolishness at best, but sometimes as hard-hearted evil, subject to God's condemnation. However, it was not foolishness or evil that motivated most early Efik interpretations: when missionaries presented theological concepts with no equivalent categories in Efik thought, these concepts were simply dismissed as largely irrelevant. The message at such points was resisted or rejected because the Efik religious and cultural map of the universe was still intact governing the interpretation. Such phases of rejection consisted of instances where the incompatibilities between mission proclamation and local religion were perceived to be greatest. In the case of Creek Town, this period of resistance and rejection was comparatively brief, largely being concluded by 1850-1851. The tendency of the Creek Town people to concentrate more on the compatibility between Christianity and Efik religion, made the people there more inclined toward the mission's preaching at an earlier date. Likewise resistance was fairly brief up-river. However, it was much more prolonged in Duke Town, as acceptance of mission teaching only slowly began throughout the 1870s.

We have seen that when the preachers pitched their scriptural arguments to even a rudimentary understanding of the Efik religious views--presented alongside such positive exhortations as the way to blessings and to escape from evil--the leaders of

the Efik people were more inclined to consider change. We see the emergence of attempts at this type of preaching, along with corresponding social change, initially from 1850-2. In the run up to the first baptisms, resistance to the mission's message lessened, as incompatibilities between Christian and Efik religious categories were reconciled as less severe. Thus a type of reformulation of Christian teaching occurred before reception could take place. Indeed, we also discovered that aspects of Christian teaching were received by various Efik before they capitulated to conversion in terms the mission sanctioned. Although the first conversions to the religious ideology of Christianity occurred in 1853, the mission had to be content largely before that time with responses from Eyo and the other kings of Calabar in restricted areas of social reform. The patience shown by the mission in not pushing for hasty baptisms also overturns some of our stereotypical views of missionaries in Africa prior to 1880. This patience has mistakenly led some commentators such as Taylor to conclude the mission was more interested in education than evangelism. The mission simply felt it was important for those wishing to convert, to fully understand their new allegiances. The people who professed their allegiance to Christian teaching after 1853 in Creek Town, were engaged in the process of reformulation: in which new Christian themes were given significance by being measured against, and placed within the most relevant categories of Efik belief. At every stage then, even before the first baptisms in 1853, the reception and reformulation of the Christian proclamation ran along the channels provided by the people's cultural and religious heritage.

However, not until preaching could proceed with the support of a vernacular Bible translation--in the next period of transition from 1858-1880--do we begin to see marked indications that the United Presbyterian's representation of the Gospel had penetrated Efik patterns of religious belief to any significant degree. Ideological responses began to be registered among the Efik on a more widespread basis, as the preaching for social reform during the early 1850s passed increasingly into serial biblical teaching--supported by the vernacular Bible translations of the 1860s.

As the interaction process continued from 1858-1880, differences in Christian and Efik religious categories were still apparent in Creek Town. In Duke Town after 1860, leading men adopted a new stance, which stressed the compatibility between Christianity and their own patterns of belief as a confirmation of Duke Town practices. This represented a modification in Duke Town's reactions, for the town in its earliest responses tended to resist Christian teaching on grounds of its incompatibility with local tradition. Likewise, Creek Town's earliest inclinations to perceive continuity between the scriptural message and their belief patterns, gave way to protracted consideration at times over this period. Thus in both Creek and Duke Town, incompatibilities continued to be perceived during the period from 1858-1880, but clearly more so in Duke Town. Over those same years however, Efik local religion came to conceive of its own distinctiveness precisely because of Christianity's incompatibility. With new found understandings of both the Christian challenge and the heritage of the past, some Efik began to recognize

certain contradictions in their religion and culture.

From 1880-1900, it therefore became attractive for some adherents of local religion to ease those perceived cultural contradictions--while also retaining a sense of local integrity. This again involved the reception and reformulation process, through accepting Christian teaching and applying it to the concerns of local Efik religion. Yet there were some themes with no equivalent Efik religious categories. Reformulation then took two forms. The first was where the significance of the Christian theme was reoriented and invested with a different meaning because of its juxtaposition with Efik categories more relevant to life in their society. Thus, by placing Christian concepts into new patterns of religious association, this gave rise to revitalized meanings for the Christian symbols. The second type of reformulation occurred when the discontinuity between Christian themes and various local religious categories was perceived by some to reveal more effective prescriptions for managing their hostile spiritual environment. A "power encounter" was often the source for the new recognition. As a result, various Efik began to reorder their own religious categories in limited ways to employ aspects of Christian teaching. However, due to the lack of sources which record Goldie and Anderson's preaching after the publication of the Bible, this reformulation phase of interaction in Calabar is more difficult to document. Indeed, the objections and dialogue of Efik leaders with the missionaries were more infrequent, especially as both Goldie and Anderson were increasingly preaching to the converted after 1880. We also

discovered that even for those who professed Christian allegiance, there were some points of friction between Christian proclamation and other aspects of local religion which were never fully reconciled. Christian theological elements such as monogamy--without clear analogies in Efik patterns of belief--were sometimes ultimately disregarded as irrelevant. Consequently, it is clear enough from the records we possess for this period that the reception and reformulation of mission teaching was governed by resilient Efik religious and cultural concerns. These patterns of belief were never fully extirpated in Calabar.

While proclamation from 1880-1900 was directed less towards forcing cultural change, the social reform agenda was slowly taken over by other initiatives such as The Hopkins Treaty in 1878, and the responsibilities of the Oil Rivers Protectorate in 1885. With the coming of the Protectorate and its accompanying social changes, further contradictions in local culture were perceived by some Efik leaders. Since the mission was in a period of expansion, Christian proclamation was not directly related to those felt needs until younger missionaries finally succeeded the patriarchs in the mid to late 1890s. The newer leaders were mostly sent up-country in the expansion, and the older evangelistic approach of ignoring local world-view assumptions persisted in Creek and Duke Towns almost until 1900. Increasingly during the period from 1880-1900, these younger missionaries recognized the need to address their message to local religious categories--even if their perceptions of those categories were sometimes flawed. Many of these

missionaries achieved a conscious break with the preaching style and content of the pioneers. The Calabar religious setting thus came to exercise considerable influence of the mission message: intermittently from 1858-1880, and then more so with the ascendancy of younger missionary leaders and the first generation of indigenous leaders in the later part of the period 1880-1900.

We have thus discovered signs that the local context promoted a tendency towards diversity of preaching form and content, rather than uniformity. At the same time, our study has uncovered evidence to suggest that uniform elements of evangelical Scottish preaching--as defined by Enright--were present in United Presbyterian preaching in Calabar, accounting for some measure of preaching development. It is unclear whether these developments constituted the full emergence in Calabar of a liberal-evangelical sermon, of the kind which developed in nineteenth century Scotland. The question of a one-to-one relationship between Scottish theological developments and the preaching of such men as Waddell, Goldie, and Anderson remains difficult to document, and therefore unresolved. On the other hand, a unique feature of mission preaching in Calabar does stand out: the degree to which Goldie and Anderson promoted serial and systematic teaching of biblical books throughout the course of their many years in service. This appears to be a distinctive trait in relation to the teaching

done in other United Presbyterian missions.¹ Of course, more work remains to be done comparing the nature of United Presbyterian preaching in Calabar with the evangelism of the denomination in other nineteenth-century mission contexts. Only in comparison to the mission preaching of the denomination as a whole, can the issue of uniformity and diversity in the preaching of the Calabar mission be finally established.

In terms of response, even as late as the period from 1880-1900, local people were largely forced to relate the message of Christianity to their felt needs--in the absence of such preaching. It was this reformulation which brought the Christian message to bear upon the underlying frictions within their religious and cultural worlds, bringing harmony to persons caught in the rapidly changing Cross River society. This the people of the area began to do quite effectively, and steady growth in the Church was achieved during the period. This was largely despite, rather than because of the mission initiative in many cases.

Moving past our study period of study, it is instructive to note that the mission overexpanded and diversified into education after the turn of the twentieth century. This was, of course, in conjunction with the British colonial occupation of the region, as it became the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria in 1900. The colo-

¹ A preliminary survey of mission preaching in other United Presbyterian missions has revealed no such emphasis on preaching serially through the entire biblical material in order. Preaching in the United Presbyterian missions in Kaffraria (South Africa), in Eastern Himalaya, and Jamaica was examined from the following sources, which make for only an introduction to such a necessary comparative study: U.P.C.M.R., Vol.4, (1849:72); Vol. 5, (1850:54-55, 62, 194, 206-207); Vol.6, (1851:166-167); Vol.7, (1852:55-58); Vol.4, new series (1883:57-60, 64-66, 240, 318-319, 345).

nial presence considerably reduced the need for a mission social reform program. Also the need to administer many schools across a wide geographic area under the Mission Council scheme, signalled the eclipse of the ex-patriate missionary evangelist. Scottish missionaries were instead pressed into the administrative role of the District Missionary, diminishing their opportunities for preaching initiatives. This consequently left the field clear for countless unnamed local evangelists to preach and "re-represent" their reformulated message of Christianity to the Cross River basin. It was the period when Scottish missionaries were least in the pulpit, ironically, that the Presbyterian Church in the Cross River area enjoyed its most unprecedented growth.

In review, we can discern a historical relationship between the limitations of mission preaching and the promotion of local Christian response. We can note from our findings, that as the United Presbyterian missionaries expanded territorially, both their social reform and evangelistic agendas correspondingly weakened. Furthermore, as the mission was increasingly hindered in its power to influence the Church and society within the Cross River area, the burden of preaching was transferred to Efik evangelists themselves. A surge in response to the representation of the Christian message was registered as a result. Important changes of emphasis in preaching marked the passage of time from each of the following phases to the next--1846-1858, 1858-1880, 1880-1900 and beyond. Each successive phase saw a considerable scaling back in the role of the missionary evangelist in the affairs of either the Church or the society, and ultimately for

both.

Over the first period from 1846-1858, the mission sought to bring about social change, and to denounce customs in order to provide the foundation for evangelistic initiatives. After 1851, the missionaries increased their calls for personal allegiance to Christ. But clearly response was largely registered in the areas of social reform during this period. Until the late 1850s Efik interpretations of Christianity centred on "God's fashions", or biblical injunctions for proper living. The responses to the mission's religious teaching came primarily at points which confirmed local Efik religion.

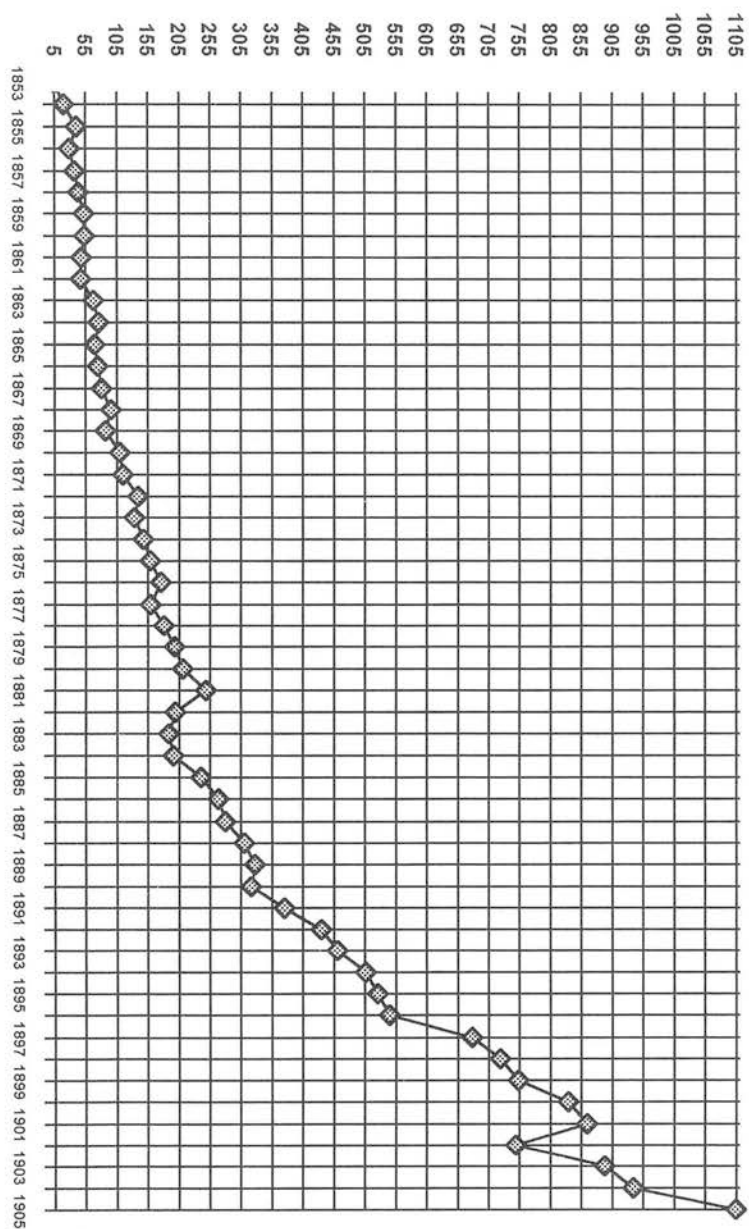
As the next phase progressed from 1858-1880, the social reform agenda was scaled back in favour of sequential teaching of the vernacular Bible--especially after the translations of the New and Old Testaments were completed in 1862 and 1868 respectively. In this way, calls for conversion began to be balanced with catechesis and "preaching to the converted".

When the mission moved into a phase of territorial expansion from 1880-1900, the younger missionaries found their way up-river to evangelise. This left older missionaries in Creek and Duke Town continuing their preaching to sustain the emerging new Churches. This preaching was no longer perceived by the missionaries at these stations to be so central, as can be seen in the lack of documentation for it over the period. Indeed, by the turn of the century, the pastoral and preaching responsibilities had been handed over to local leaders: Rev. E.E. Ukpabio was appointed minister of the Creek Town church in 1897, and William George was ordained as the first Efik minister of the

Duke Town church in 1900. The responsibility of the mission in the area of promoting social reforms also had begun to pass to the ever increasing colonial regime; as the consular rule of the Oil Rivers Protectorate arrived in 1885; was extended indefinitely into the hinterland in 1893 as the Niger Coast Protectorate; and later became The Protectorate of Southern Nigeria in 1900 under the High Commissioner Sir Ralph Moor.

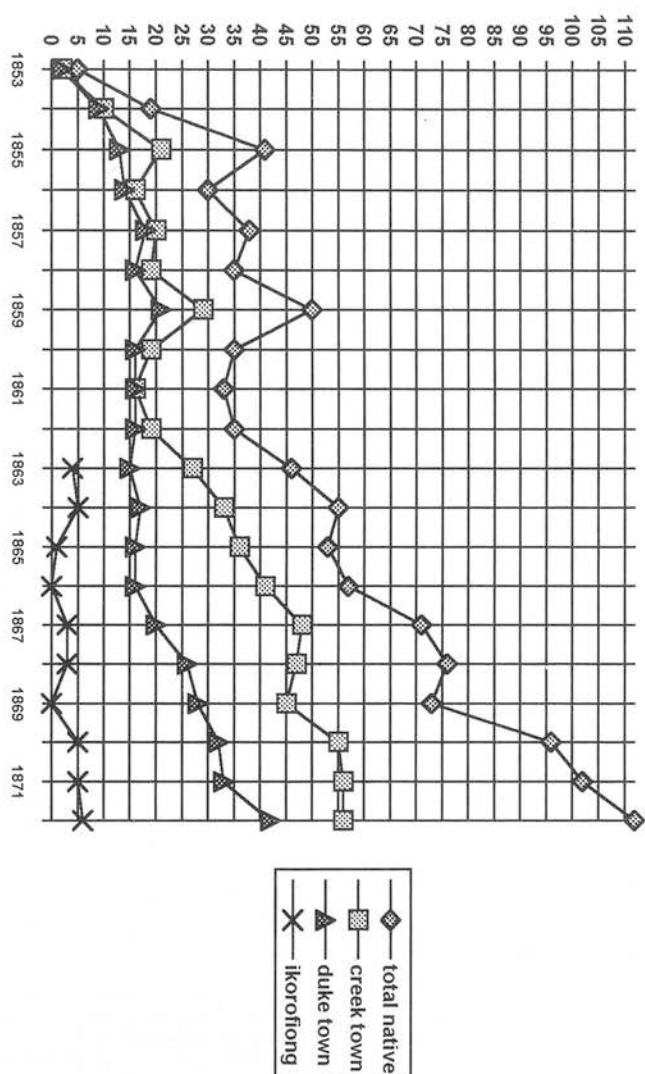
After 1900 this protectorate largely assumed the initiative for creating and maintaining stable social institutions--while the mission primarily contributed in the area of education. Evangelistic preaching was clearly out of the hands of the District Missionaries of the newly constituted United Free Church of Scotland after 1900. Consequently, countless Efik, Ibibio, and Igbo were called upon to take up evangelistic opportunities. These local initiatives accompanied widespread conversion to Christianity--precisely when ex-patriate preaching was at its weakest. Many of these local evangelists will remain forever unknown. Yet the contribution they made to both church and society in the Cross River basin stands through their witness. This witness remains truly significant. For it demonstrates once again, that through the proclamation of United Presbyterian missionaries among the peoples of the Cross River region, "God was well-pleased through the foolishness of the message preached to save those who believe." (1 Cor. 1.21 NAS)

Appendix I. Calabar Mission Total Communicant Membership 1853-1905

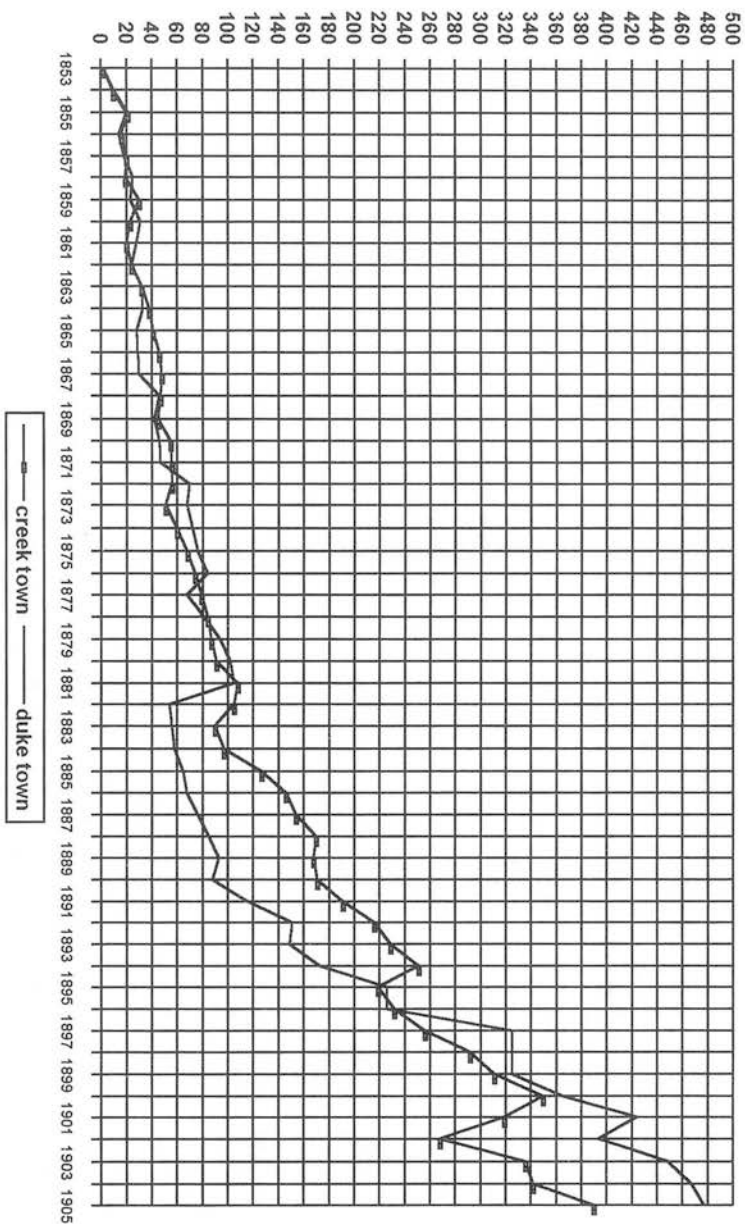


Sources: U.P.C.M.R./U.F.C.M.R.

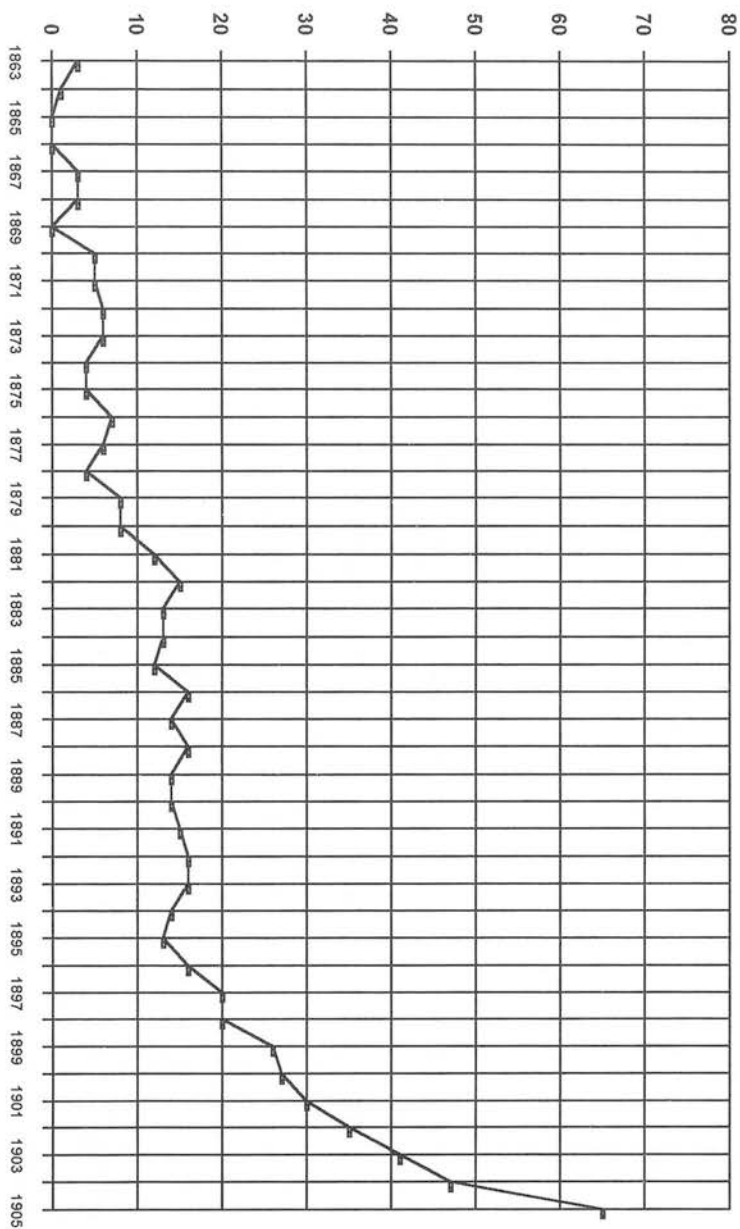
Appendix II.A Calabar Mission Local Communicant Membership



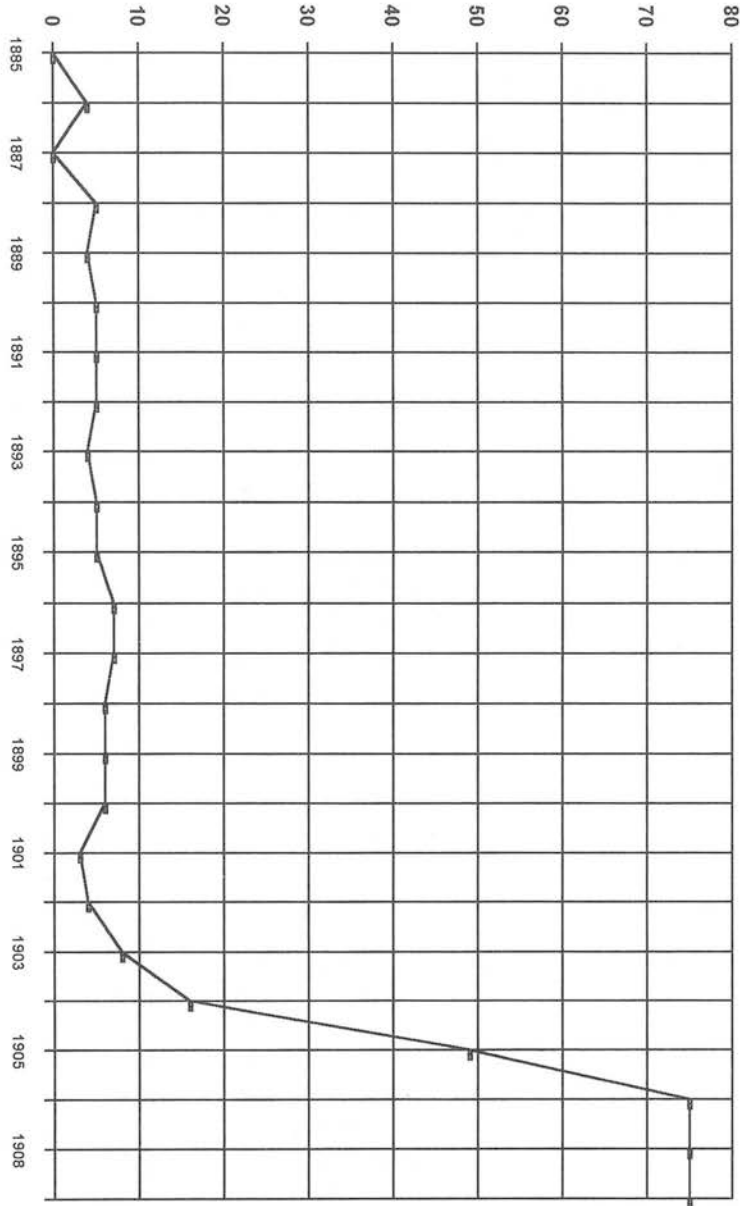
Appendix II.B. Total Membership at Creek Town and Duke Town 1853-1905



Appendix II.C
Total
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Appendix II.D.
 Total
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 1885-1909



Appendix III. Frequency of Biblical Books Preached and Taught

The material taught within each book of the Bible by Waddell, Anderson, and Goldie, was counted and ranked in two distinct categories. Table one lists the frequency value and rank order of biblical books in which specific and isolated texts were cited in the sermon. The rank order suggested in this table reflects the frequency of material that each individual found significant for their context. It also represents the biblical books which contained favourite texts, as well as proof texts. Table two lists the frequency value and ranking of books which were taught comprehensively in serial form. The rankings in this table more accurately reflect the actual emphases received by the book in its complete form, within the teaching of the respective missionaries. The rankings in both tables are suggestive then, of the frequency of biblical books relative to each other within the individual missionary's preaching pattern. Comparisons between the various individuals' use of the biblical material can only be done on the basis of the rank order, rather than on the frequency values of the biblical books.

Table 1: Frequency Value and Rank Order of Biblical Books used when specific texts were cited in isolated sermons.

<u>Waddell</u>	<u>Freq. Val.</u>	<u>Anderson</u>	<u>Freq. Val.</u>	<u>Goldie</u>	<u>Freq. Val.</u>
1. Genesis	17	1. John	9	1. Matthew	11
2. Matthew	13	2. Luke	8	2. Psalms	6
3. Acts	11	3. Acts	6	3. Acts	5
4. John	9	3. Isaiah	6	3. Genesis	5
5. Romans	7	4. Genesis	5	4. John	4
6. Exodus	4	4. Matthew	5	4. Ecclesiastes	4
6. Proverbs	4	5. Psalms	4	4. II Cor.	4
7. Psalms	3	6. Joshua	3	5. Luke	3
7. Luke	3	6. Job	3	5. Galatians	3
7. II Peter	3	6. I Cor.	3	6. Romans	2
8. II Cor.	2	7. I Timothy	2	6. I Timothy	2
8. Hebrews	2	7. Hebrews	2	6. Hebrews	2
8. Ephesians	2	7. Leviticus	2	6. Exodus	2
8. James	2	7. I Samuel	2	7. Mark	1
8. Ecclesiastes	2	7. I Kings	2	7. Amos	1
8. Jeremiah	2	7. II Kings	2	7. Revelation	1
9. Colossians	1	8. Mark	1	7. Isaiah	1
9. I Cor.	1	8. I Peter	1	7. Daniel	1
9. Phillippians	1	8. Revelation	1	7. I Cor.	1
9. I Timothy	1	8. Exodus	1	7. Ephesians	1
9. Titus	1	8. Numbers	1	7. Joshua	1
9. Revelation	1	8. Deuteronomy	1	7. I Peter	1
9. Leviticus	1	8. II Samuel	1		
9. Job	1	8. Jeremiah	1		
9. Isaiah	1	8. Malachi	1		
9. Nehemiah	1	8. Ezekiel	1		
9. Ezekiel	1				
9. Hosea	1				

Table 1.1: Some select examples of chapters and verses cited and emphasized in particular biblical books--apart from serial teaching --and number of times repeated:

Waddell

- 1.Genesis: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 12-50
- 2.Matthew: 5x3, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14.21, 15, 18, 22, 26
- 3.Acts: 5, 10, 12, 13, 14
- 4.John: 1.18, 3, 6, 8.12x3, 11.47-53
- 5.Romans: 1, 3, 8, 8.28, 10.10
- 6.Exodus: 22, 34
- 6.Proverbs: 1, 2, 7x2, 8-12
- 7.Psalms: 44.12-13, 50, 94
- 7.Luke: 1, 12, 15
- 7.II Peter: 2.20-22, 3x2
- 8.II Cor.4.3-5, 7.10
- 8.Hebrews: 2.3x2
- 8.Ephesians: 2
- 8.James: 2, 5

Anderson

- 1.John: 4.24, 14.1-2, 17.1x2, 15-21, 21.15x3, 24.15
- 2.Luke: 7.11-17, 8.18, 9.23-27, 10.42, 14.22x2, 18.37
- 3.Acts: 17.7, 19-24, 26.22-23x4
- 3.Isaiah: 21.10x2, 26.3, 35.8-10, 44.3-5, 53.6
- 4.Genesis: 2.24, 5.24, 49.18
- 4.Matthew: 5-7, 13.43, 18, 19.4-6, 27.22.
- 5.Psalm: 42.6, 48.9, 122.1, 126
- 6.Joshua: 24.15x3
- 6.Job: 16.22
- 6.I Cor.: 7.2, 10.19x2

Goldie

- 1.Matthew: 3.24-31, 5.7, 5.21-27, 6.24ff., 7.7-13, 9.18-32, 11.28-30, 25.46, 28.18-20
- 2.Psalms: 34, 80.18, 90, 91, 103.13, 116.12
- 3.Genesis: 3.21
- 3.Acts: 1.11, 2.37-41, 8.26, 16.30-31
- 4.John: 1.5-7, 3.16, 4.24, 16.23
- 4.Ecclesiastes: 3.29, 8.14, 9.10, 12
- 4.II Cor: 2.15, 4, 6.17-18
- 5.Luke: 1.78-79, 19.29
- 5.Galatians: 3.10
- 6.Timothy: 2.15, 2.19

Table 2: Frequency Value and Rank Order of Biblical Books taught comprehensively in serial fashion. (The Frequency value denotes the number of times the particular book was taught in series).

<u>Waddell</u> Freq.Val.	<u>Anderson</u> Freq.Val.	<u>Goldie</u> Freq.Val.
1. John 1	1. Genesis 6	1. Matthew 8
2. Genesis*	2. Acts 5	1. Mark 8
3. Acts*	2. Numbers 5	1. Luke 8
	2. I Kings 5	1. John 8
	3. John 4	2."O.T.History" 7
	3. Hebrews 4	2."Epistles" 7
	3."Parables" 4	3. Psalms 3
	3. Exodus 4	3. Proverbs 3
	3. Deuteronomy 4	4. I Cor. 2
	3. II Samuel 4	5. Galatians 1
	3. II Kings 4	5. Romans 1
	3. II Chron. 4	5. Eccles. 1
	4. Luke 3	5. II Cor. 1
	4. Leviticus 3	5."Life and
	4. I Samuel 3	Prophecies of
	4. I Chron. 3	Christ" 1
	4. Judges 3	5. Ephesians 1
	4."Epistles" 3	5. Philipians 1
	4."Miracles" 3	5. Colossians 1
	5. Romans 2	5. I Thess. 1
	5. Philippians 2	5. II Thess. 1
	5. Joshua 2	5."Miracles" 1
	5. Nehemiah 2	5."Parables" 1
	5. Proverbs 2	5. Jeremiah 1
	5. Ruth 2	5."Prophetical
	6. Matthew 1	Books" 1
	6. Mark 1	
	6. I Cor. 1	
	6. II Cor. 1	
	6. Eccles. 1	
	6. Esther 1	
	6. Ezra 1	
	6. Job 1	
	6. Daniel 1	
	6. Jonah 1	

* Waddell conducted an overview of Old Testament History which included parts of Genesis in 1851 and 1852, and an even shorter series on Acts from late 1850 to 1851, in which he treated neither of these books in their entirety.

Appendix IV: William Anderson's "Short Summary of Christian Doctrine, used at Rosehill, Metcalfe, Jamaica, from 1843 to 1848; and at Duke Town, Old Calabar, W. Africa, from 1849-1889."

From MSS 8948 (National Library of Scotland) scriptural references included from MSS.

1. There is One God. (Is. 45.5, I Tim. 2.5)
2. God stands to us in a near relation. (Ps. 110.3, Heb. 4.13)
3. God is spirit. (John 4.24)
4. God is creator, preserver, and governor of all things. (Is. 45.18, Neh. 9.6, Ps. 145.15, 16, Dan. 4.34, 35)
5. There are three persons in the Godhead. (Matt. 28.19, II Cor. 13.14)
 - a. The Father is God. (I Cor. 8.6)
 - b. The Son is God. (John 1.1-3)
 - c. The Holy Spirit is God. (Acts 5.3, 4)
6. God made man holy and happy. (Gen. 1.26-27, 2.8-9, Eph. 4.24, Col. 3.10)
7. God charged our first parents not to eat of or even to touch the tree of knowledge of Good and evil. (Gen. 2.16)
8. The devil by means of the serpent tempted Eve to break God's command. (Gen. 3.1-5)
9. Our first parents broke God's commandment. (Gen. 3.16)
10. God called them to account for their sin. (Gen. 2.8-13)
11. God expelled our first parents from Eden. (Gen. 3.22-24)
12. All mankind became sinners in Adam. (Ps. 51.5, Rom. 5.12)
- 13A. God foreknew all this and had provided salvation in covenant of grace. (Eph. 1.3-4, Titus 1.2, Heb. 13.20, Shorter Catechism)
- 13B. A saviour was promised immediately after the fall. (Gen. 3.15)
14. The saviour was next promised as the seed of Abraham. (Gen. 12.1-3, 16-18, Gal. 3.16)
15. Christ was to descend from Israel. (Gen. 26.1-5)
16. Christ was to descend from Jacob. (Gen. 28.13-14)
17. Jacob hinted that He was to descend from Judah. (Gen. 49.8-10)

- 18.Christ was to descend from David. (Ps. 89.35-36, Jer. 23.5-6)
- 19.Christ was to be born at Bethlehem. (Mic. 5.2)
- 20.Christ was born of the virgin Mary. (Luke .26-38, 2.4-7)
- 21.John Baptist was the forerunner of Jesus. (Luke 1.13-17, John 1.19-34)
- 22.It was needful that Christ become man that He might be our substitute. (Heb. 2.9-14)
- 23.Christ existed as God before he became man. (John 1.1-3, Col. 1.12-18)
- 24.Christ did not cease to be God when he became man. (Rom. 9.5, I Tim. 3.16, Heb. 1.8)
- 25.Christ went about doing good. (Matt. 9.35, Acts 10.38)
- 26.The great design for which Christ came into the world was to save sinners. (Matt. 20.28, I Tim. 1.15, John 3.17)
- 27.Christ's life was one of suffering and privation. (Is. 53.2-3, Luke 9.58, II Cor. 8.9)
- 28.Christ died the painful and shameful death of the cross. (Mark 15.15-37, John 19.14-30)
- 29.Christ's sufferings were not on his own account for he was perfectly holy. (Heb. 4.15, 7.26)
- 30.Christ's sufferings were for our sakes. (Is. 43.4-6, II Cor. 8.9, Gal. 3.13, Heb. 9.11-12, I Pet. 1.18-19, 2.24)
- 31.Christ's sufferings were entirely voluntary. (John 10.11, 15, 17, 18, 18.1-6, Gal. 2.20)
- 32.Christ's sufferings were not the cause but the effect of the Father's love to us. (John 3.16, I John 4.10)
- 33.It is only on account of the suffering and death of Christ that we can escape the wrath of God. (John 14.6, Acts 4.10-12, Rom.3.20-26, Heb. 10.4, 11, 12, 18)
- 34.The body of Jesus was buried. (Luke 23.50-56)
- 35.Jesus rose from the dead on the third day. (Matt. 28.1-8)
- 36.Jesus showed Himself frequently to His disciples after His resurrection. (John 20.11-18, 19-25, 26-29, 21.1-14)
- 37.Jesus ascended up to heaven. (Luke 24.50-51, Acts 1.6-9)
- 38.Jesus sits at the right hand of God. (Ps. 110.1, Heb. 8.25)

39. Jesus intercedes for His people. (Rom. 8.34, Heb. 7.25)
40. Jesus is preparing a place for his people. (John 14.1-3)
41. Jesus receives honor and glory as the reward of His sufferings. (Phil. 2.6-11, Rev. 5.11-13)
42. Jesus rules all things for the benefit of His Church. (Eph. 1.20-23)
43. Jesus promised to send the Holy Spirit to his people from Heaven. (John 14.16-17, 26, 15.26, 16.7)
44. The Holy Spirit is the Teacher, Comforter, and Sanctifier of believers. (John 14.26, 16.13, Rom. 8.14-17, John 14.16-17, I Cor. 6.9-11, Titus 3.5)
45. The Holy Spirit helps believers in duty. (Rom. 8.26, Phil. 2.12-13)
46. The Holy Spirit applies redemption (effectual calling in the Shorter Catechism). (Ezek. 36.26-27)
47. Christ is the prophet, Priest, and King of His people.
note: He must be received in all his offices. (Acts 3.20-23, Heb. 5.1-6, Ps. 2, 72, Rev. 19.11-16)
48. When the Holy Spirit brings a Sinner to believe in Jesus, that sinner is justified, i.e., his sins are pardoned and God accepts him as righteous. (Is. 63.10, Eph. 1.4-7)
49. It is only by faith that a sinner is justified. (Rom. 3.20-28, 5.1, Eph. 2.8-9)
50. Believers are adopted into the family of God. (John 1.12, I John 3.1) note: adoption includes provision, education, chastisement, inheritance.
51. Believers are sanctified. (II Thess. 2.13, II Pet. 3.18, Rom. 6-18).
52. Though Believers are free from the law as a Covenant, they are under it as a rule. (Rom. 12.1-2, Eph. 5.25-27)
53. The eternal happiness of believers is secure. (John 10.27-28, Rom. 5.8-10, 8.31-39)
54. Christians must attend to the word of God. (Ps. 1.2, 19.6-11, 119, John 5.39, Col. 3.16, Rev. 1.3)
55. Christians must attend on the public worship of God. (Ps. 27.4, 42, 84, Luke 4.16, Heb. 10.25)
56. Christians must pray. (Matt. 6.5-13, 7.7-11, I Thess. 5.17)

- a. For things agreeable to God's will. (I John 5.14)
- b. In faith. (Matt. 21.22)
- c. In the name of Christ. (John 14.13-14)
- d. Earnestly and perseveringly. (Luke 18.1)

57. Believers must be baptized. (Matt. 28.19) Notes: a. Water in baptism maybe looked upon as an emblem either of the Holy Spirit --Ezek. 36.25-27--or of the blood of Christ--I John 1.7, or of both. As water purifies all in the material world, so doth the Holy Spirit in the spiritual. b. Baptism reminds us of our natural depravity and pollution. c. The person baptized is devoted to God.

58. Christians must observe the Lord's supper. (I Cor. 11.23-26) Notes: The emblems and actions are both symbolical and instructive.

- a. The bread and the wine represent the body and blood of Christ.--What food and medicine are to the body, that is Christ to the soul.
- b. The breaking of the bread represents the breaking of Christ's body, i.e., His sufferings and death for us.
- c. The giving of the bread and wine may remind us of God's giving us His Son, and of His son giving Himself to us.
- d. By receiving the bread and the wine, communicants profess that they accept of Christ and His salvation, i.e., that they are believing in Him.
- e. As bread and wine must be eaten and drunk before they can nourish or benefit the body so must Christ be appropriated by faith ere He can benefit the soul.
- f. The Lord's Supper is a feast for friends. Whoever observes professes that he belongs to the Saviour.
- g. Some reckon that the word Sacrament, often applied to the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, means an oath of allegiance. Whatever the word may mean, the ordinance includes the idea of self-consecration to the redeemer.
- h. Self-examination must be attended to--I Cor. 11.28 (Shorter Catechism)
- i. The ordinance cannot of itself save us.
- j. In the ordinance believers have communion with Christ and with one another. I Cor. (10.16-17)

59. We must all die. (Heb. 11.27)

60. The soul goes to heaven or hell whenever it leaves the body. (Ezek. 12.7, Luke 16.19-23, 23.42-43)

61. All the dead shall rise from their graves at the last day. (John 5.28-29, Acts 24.15)

62. Believers shall be raised in glory. (I Cor. 15.41-44, Phil. 3.20-21, Col. 3.4)

63. The wicked shall rise in horror, remorse, and despair. (John 5.29, Dan. 12.12)

64.All men shall be judged by Christ. (Matt. 25.31-36, II Cor. 5.10, Rev. 20.11-15)

65.The righteous shall be eternally happy in heaven. (Dan. 12.3, Rev. 9-17, 21.3, 22.1-5)

66.The wicked shall be eternally miserable in hell. (Matt. 25.46, Mark 9.43-48, II Thess. 1.7-9, Jude 7, Rev. 21.8)

Appendix V. Efik Letters

Due to the lack of sources documenting Waddell's preaching after 1854, in order to understand the shape of the received and reformulated Christianity of the first young converts, we must look at excerpts from Efik letters from the period. The first of these letters comes from Young Eyo himself, shortly after his baptism on 30 October 1853, two weeks after the first Calabar "convert", Esien Esien Ukpabio, was baptised on 16 October that year:

I am glad to write you these few lines to tell you this my best news, that on the 30th day of October, the Lord by his great goodness, and love to sinners as I, have bring me through all my temptation, to repent, and be as what he been said to Nicodemus in John 3.5. When I write to tell my father that I want to get myself joined to God's family he make plenty of palaver about it. But all he say to stop me God make it very good to me, and I pray to our heavenly Father to keep me, and help me to stand strong in His love....that same day when I been to be baptized, my father say, that, if I stop till he know what baptism mean and you come out, he will come to you himself to be baptized. I tell him all I know, and say, Very good father, if you come to be baptized and believe in the name of the Lord, but I cannot wait, for all God's ministers are the same. Then he say , But Mr. Waddell is the first man that come here. I say, Yes, father, but I do not know if I live to see that time, and God's word tells us that when we hear His word we must do it. My friend, Eyo Hogan is in great trouble of mind, for when his father and his father's sister die he have plenty of palaver. I tell him to pray, and beg God to help him, and bring him to his family; for we cannot trust ourselves to any friend on earth; but God is willing to be a father and best friend to all his people; and I think that Hogan will soon look for his life...¹

¹ Waddell (1863:528).

The fact that Eyo received the Gospel was due primarily to a number of continuities he had discerned with the needs and outlook defined by his Efik religion. The scripture he used to describe his experience, John 3.5, focuses on obtaining a "new life", being "born-again", by the water and the Spirit into God's kingdom. Eyo did not fully understand the meaning of Baptism, but in light of the continuity between baptism and the *uduok mong* or "throwing water" ceremony in which a slave was introduced to a "Calabar family"¹--it was probably confirmed to Eyo that baptism by water meant an introduction to a family: God's family. Eyo received the message of the Christianity as relevant to Efik world-view concerns, because of the continuity between the notion of being born again through the power of the Holy Spirit and the local view of the universe as packed with spiritual powers--as well as the tribal souls being renewed into life again. The fact that Eyo responded to the Christian proclamation largely in terms of teaching on the Holy Spirit, something Waddell did not emphasise frequently in his proclamation, indicates the degree of autonomy enjoyed by the converts in conceiving of Christianity in their own terms of relevance.

So clearly, Efik converts related Christian symbols and theology to the deeper relevant concerns of Efik religion under their own initiative from the very beginning. A type of reformulation had also apparently occurred from the beginning, as indicated in the letter above. The meaning of conversion was primarily seen by Eyo not in terms of entering God's kingdom, but

¹ Waddell (1863:539).

as joining God's family. Here, the primacy of the family in the social setting over against the concept of the "kingdom", served to bring Eyo's attention to joining God's family.

Another letter from a free young man named Okbo, who was baptized on the same day as Eyo, detailed the struggle for converts against indifferent and perhaps hostile members of family. The following letter, written in English, demonstrates a singular presence of both educated mind, and sanctified spirit:

...I have seen the hand of the Lord working amongst us; for many here begin to join the church of God; and I will come forward with King Eyo's son this Sabbath to take on us the vows of the Lord. I thank God much that my prayer been answered to bring me thus far to see my sin, and to seek Jesus as the only Saviour of mankind. Dear friend, as you have had Christian mother and father, it is a thing you should thank God much for...Our parents try all they can to keep us back, and to take our attention from the word of God....but I thank God it does not make me a bit afraid; and I told them that I expected this ill treatment and more for Christ's sake. It is good we know what the world will do to us. I know, says Apostle Paul, in myself I am nothing; but in the strength of the Lord I am able to face anything. Remember us all in your prayers to God.¹

We can see from the above letter, that Christian teaching and Western education had been taken up by Okpo to a very high degree. But even here there are signs of reception because of a perceived continuity between Christianity and Efik religion. As for the continuity, the notion of joining the Church in conversion was spoken of in very characteristic Efik religious terms: a vow. The term was commensurate with the

¹ Waddell (1863:539).

Efik notion of the *akansa* vow before Abasi in one life, to dictate the direction and quality of life in the next reincarnation. Thus, the Christian symbolism of a new life in Christ was seen in continuous terms with the vow.

However, a significant reformulation had also taken place. We see signs in Okpo's letter that the force of Christian teaching had caused a reconciliation and reshaping of Efik thought in a particular area: the vow no longer dictated before God the nature of the next reincarnated life, but rather the nature and quality of the eternal life--the only true life after death.

In contrast to Eyo's letter, Okpo had clearly recognized and noted the obstacle of sin, and the provision for restoring fellowship with God through the Saviour. However, because Okpo clearly had to pray for this recognition of sin and the need for a Saviour, it strongly indicates his inclination to accept the mission proclamation may have originated in some other Christian teaching--more continuous perhaps with his Efik world-view. It seems that recognition of sin and the need of a Saviour only came as an effect of his "conversion", not as the cause, as is commonly argued. The curious lack of references to sin and to Christ in Eyo's letter confirms that such themes may have had less to do with the early motives for conversion among the Efik than has generally been recognized.¹

A number of letters from the young converts of the year

¹ For Waddell's view that recognition of sin and the need for Christ was the primary agent of conversion, see Waddell (1863:540).

1858 are included in Waddell's autobiography. From these letters it will be possible to note the changing shape of Calabar Christianity around the time of the conclusion to Waddell's ministry. The following are a series of excerpts from the letters of prominent young Christians after the death of King Eyo on 3 December 1858. They form a picture of the theological mind of Efik Christians struggling with the false perception inherited from their teachers that Christianity should have supplanted their Efik religious views.¹ In fact, their previous religious understandings continued to form the standard against which the relevance of Christian thought was measured. Indeed, in light of the loss of King Eyo, the people's greatest need appeared to be for "the fatherless" community to find a Great Father as well as the way of wisdom and strength. These were clearly themes dictated as relevant by Efik understandings of communal identity and need. In this situation, Young Eyo wrote:

I am now every day troubled by the people's palavers, one after another; but I pray every day to the Lord to keep me, and help me in this great trying....pray for me, that the Lord may keep me in his own way, and give me wisdom and strength to do his will, even as Solomon prayed (I Kings 3.6-9), and may it please him to grant....²

Young Eyo saw himself in parallel to Solomon, who sought wisdom and the ability to choose between good and evil, as he was faced with inadequacies while ascending to the throne of his father.

¹ For examples of Waddell's surgical opposition to elements of remaining primal religion in his convert's life, see Waddell MSS (7742:47-48, 50-51, 52-53), (7743:43, 44 especially, and 46, and 80).

² Waddell (1863:645).

The whole notion of what it meant to be a Christian king of Calabar would have to be worked out in terms which took into account cultural and religious understandings of *obongship*. Indeed, the *obongship* itself was closely interrelated with the high ranking duties within the Ekpe society.¹ If some continuity with the patterns of *obongship* were not maintained, the right to rule in the eyes of the people would have been forfeited by Eyo. Social disruption might well have followed. This explains his struggle to reconcile *obongship* with Christian understandings, and for this task one would have indeed required the wisdom of Solomon.

Eshen, Eyo's second son, also wrote of the struggle to make sense of living in the dual world of Christian symbols and Efik religious structures. Along these lines, Eshen wrote concerning such resilient Efik concerns as who will be "the Father of the fatherless":

...So we walk and come into town, and
come to the house, and then I know that my
father died, and then I know that my father
died, and then I weep and cry....and now we
see great affliction and trouble. Pray for
us, that Satan may not take us from our God;
for his kindness, O how great! Often we feel
our heart prone from our Saviour to depart; but
though we often him forgot, my master the Lord
is our dwelling place in all generations, for
he is our refuge, and he is the Father of the
fatherless. May he make us be strong in his
right way....²

Faced directly with the spectre of death, the young converts found themselves examining the force of Christian assertions about life after death in comparison to their Efik religious

¹ Simmons (1956:16)

² Ibid.

views which previously gave comfort. The question was clearly this: could the young converts--some placed in positions of community leadership-- stake their lives and the survival of the community on the Christian message? This question would have been all the more difficult to answer because the well-being of the living community was still seen to derive from the well-being of the ancestors who had gone before. Indeed, since the souls of the community were seen as a group in unity, the question remained--how would the dead king and therefore the community fare if Christian funeral ceremonies were given? Would the community be blessed by God or cursed by an angry deceased obong if ikpo and sacrifices were not offered? For Eshen and Young Eyo, the answers were not as yet clear, so prayer was sought as the proper weapon--a measure from both the past and present which could offer some resolution.

As we can see, the centrality of the place of Jesus was at issue for the converts. Eshen himself seems to indicate that Jesus' relevance was sometime doubted and placed in the background by the believers. This is understandable, because in times of such communal stress it would have been quite likely for the new symbols to be neglected in favour of the comfort of old concepts. Therefore, since in the emergencies of times past the ndem were neglected in favour of Abasi, it was natural that the "Father" would be sought as a refuge for the Christians. The relegation of Christ to the background in such times also makes sense, especially if Christ as a symbol had been associated more with the concepts of the ndem than the missionaries may have realized. Since the ndem were reduced in comparison with

Abasi as sources of refuge in times of trouble--the reduction of Christ as ndem proves analogous. Indeed, even the notion of Abasi as "Father of the fatherless" was directly derived from Efik religion.¹ The application of this term in the context of reflecting on Christian theology, represents a clear case of reformulation. It further demonstrates that the Efik under their own initiative were doing theology by relating Christian symbols to relevant and resilient patterns of their own religious heritage. Moreover, the Christians in Calabar would continue to struggle to reformulate the Christian message as it had been represented to them, from this time in 1858-59, through to the present.

¹ U.F.C.M.R, (1905:415).

Appendix VI. Excerpts from the Efik Bible and Books, 1851

Appendix VI.A The Plan of Passages from The Efik Bible

(From Efik Books, 1851, Calabar Mission Press)

Section I.

1. God is Spirit. John 4.24 and 1 John 4.12
2. God is Eternal. Psalm 90.2, Psalm 102.12, Hebrews 1.10-12
3. God is unchangeable. Mal. 3.6, Psalm 33.11, Numbers 23.19
4. God is Holy. 1 John 1.5, Psalm 145.17, Heb. 1.13, Rev.4.8
5. God is Almighty. Psalm 147.5, Jer. 32.27, Mark 10.27,
Luke 18.27, Psalm 145.3
6. God is Good. Psalm 145.8
7. The Father is God. 1 Cor. 8.6
8. The Son is God. John 1.1
9. The Holy Spirit is God. Acts 5.3-4
10. These three are one. 1 Tim. 2.5

Section II. God is everywhere present and knows all things. Jer.23.24

- Section III. God made all things in six days. Genesis 1.1
- Section IV. God made man Holy, after His own image. Gen. 1.26
- Section V. Adam broke God's Law, and became wicked. Gen. 2.8
- Section VI. All men are wicked. Rom. 5.12
- Section VII. God will punish sins. Ez. 18.4, Rom. 1.18
- Section VIII. Man cannot save himself. Rom. 3.20.
- Section IX. God sent Jesus Christ His Son into the world to save men. Luke 2.10, 11, Matt. 1.21, John 3.16, 17
- Section X. Jesus Died to save us. Mark 9.31
- Section XI. Jesus Rose from Grave on third day after He died, and ascended into heaven. Mark 16.6, 1 Cor. 15.4
- Section XII. Jesus shall come again to the world, to raise all men from the grave, and the judge them. Mark 14.62
- Section XIII. Jesus shall throw the wicked into Hell, the place where fire burns forever. Rev. 21.8
- Section XIV. Jesus shall take his people to heaven, the place of everlasting happiness. Matt. 25.34
- Section XV. We must believe Jesus and he will save us and make us his people. Acts 16.30-31
- Section XVI. God teaches us the folly of idolatry; and that he hates every kind of false worship. Ps. 135. 15-18
- Section XVII. We must leave all evil customs and seek God, then he will bless us for Jesus's sake. Is. 55.3
- Section XVIII. God calls all his people to come out from the world, and to take upon them the marks of the disciples of Jesus. Matt. 28.19
- Section XIX. The word of God shall fill the world, and all men shall serve Him. Mark. 16.15, Matt. 28.20
- Section XX. We must do everything which God has commanded us to do to Him. John 15.14
- Section XXI. We must do everything which God has commanded us to do to our fellow man. 1 John 4.7.
- Section XXII. God teaches husbands and wives how they must do to each other. Col. 3.20
- Section XXIII. God teaches parents and children, how to do to each

- other. Matt. 19.4-6
- Section XXIV. God teaches masters and servants how to do each other. Col. 3.22-23
- Section XXV. We must be anxious for God and the things for our soul, above every other thing in the world. Matt. 6.31-32
- Section XXVI. We must pray to God to give us a new heart, to forgive our sins, and to give us every good thing for Christ's sake. Matt. 7.7, Matt 8.8
- Section XXVII. Prayers
- Section XXVIII. The Last Word. Eccles. 12.13-14

Appendix VI.B Lessons on History of Joseph, Item Ke Mbuk Joseph
 (Extracts from passages translated into Efik, in Efik Books, 1851, Calabar Mission Press)

This History of Joseph is not a fable. Every word of it is true. God put it in the book of his word, that it may teach all people in every country in all time. We learn from it these good lessons.

1 We see how God fulfilled what he spoke to Abraham the grandfather of Jacob, that his children would be strangers in another country. (See Genesis XV. 13.) This shows us that God knows all things which are not yet done, and determines to do all things before they come to pass. The dreams which God gave to Joseph and to Pharaoh teach us the very same thing. So also God shows his people in his word the things which he has resolved to do with all men, in the life which they now live on earth, and in the life which they will live in the other world when they have died.

2 This story teaches us that it is bad for brethren to envy and hate one another. For envy and hatred, Joseph's brethren sold him into a foreign land. Joseph had done them no wrong. he was a good youth; yet would they not hear his cries, nor regard his entreaties. Nor did they care about their father or their God. Envy and hatred are exceedingly bad in the sight of God. But it is good for brethren to love each other.

4 We learn here that men cannot prevent what God resolves to do. Every thing they try to hinder, God will make to set it forward. Joseph's brethren sold him for a slave, lest he should become a greater man than they; but in that very way did God make him become greater than all men. It is not good for men to fight against the word which God speaks; better for them to bow their heads and do as he desires.

5 We learn also from this history that the sins which men do always punish them. Jacob's sons had never a happy day after they sold their brother. ...After twenty-two years had passed, when they went to Egypt to buy food, and they were treated as spies, and confined in prison, they said to each other; It is that sin which follows us, and now God requires our brother's blood at our hands; and they thought that now they would themselves become

slaves in Egypt, like as they had sold their brother. Sin cannot hide. God will disclose it.

6 We see how Joseph feared God and kept his Law. Therefore God made him hate the sin which his master's wife wanted him to commit. Let all young men fear God, and he will save them from many sins which the Devil, who is called Satan, tempts them to do. He will also make all their labour and all their sufferings good for them.

7 This story also show us how good it is for God to be a man's friend. He took care of Joseph continually and in every place; and made all things come good for him. When his brethren though evil against him, God meant it for his good. He blessed him in his master's house in Egypt, and made every thing prosper in his hand...He stood by Joseph in prison, preserved and blessed him there, and at last delivered him from his suffering, and brought him to great honour.

8 God loved Joseph, yet he let him suffer by the great lie which that wicked woman told against him: he let him go to prison. Why did God do so? Because the prison was better for Joseph, than his master's house and his master's wife, where was continual temptation. God wished to make Joseph a very good man. When God afflicts a man in love, the trouble is not bad for him. It makes him think, ...pray to God...makes him meek; it makes him tender-hearted. Joseph was not vexed in heart. He trusted in God. He complained not. It was better for him to suffer trouble when he did good, than to have pleasure if he had done evil.

11 The great famine which came on Egypt and Canaan, seems as if God sent it because the inhabitants of these countries had begun to steal and sell people. God hates that wicked practice. (See Exodus XXI; 16) And he put them all to shame when he made Joseph, who was a slave, stand above them next to Pharaoh, and be a teacher of his word.

12 It is bad for men to despise slaves as vile people, and treat them cruelly; rather should we have mercy on those, who are stolen from their own country, and from their parents. For God will call to account every person who treats them badly.

13 We see how Joseph forgave his brethren the evil which they did to him, and rendered not evil to them. That is what God likes. When he saw that they were turned from their sin, and sorry for it; and that they loved Benjamin their brother, and were not willing he should become a slave in Egypt; then he loved them again and did them all good. Joseph behaved well, and we should try to be like him. For God teaches us to forgive those who hate us, and to do them good, even as we beg god to forgive us our sins against him.

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